Aroused assemblages and rapturous rabbles
collective emotion and emotional dynamics at large-scale social justice events

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Aroused Assemblages and Rapturous Rabbles: Collective Emotion and Emotional Dynamics at Large-scale Social Justice Events

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Abstract

This research explores how theories of group and collective emotion can be developed to inform our understanding of emotional collectives and their affective practices (Wetherell, 2012), emotional habitus (Gould, 2009) and sense of togetherness. Utilising a comparative case study approach, three large-scale social justice events (SJEs) in the UK were studied. Semi-structured interviews, with 58 attendees, investigated emotional practices and experience and the verbatim transcripts were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Eleven of the interviewees participated in two of the case studies which provided a longitudinal aspect to the research. Additionally, observational video recordings helped triangulate data and, in the third case study, the novel use of 360-degree video recordings provided an insight into the expression of collective emotion (Knoblauch, Wetzels, & Haken, 2019). The development of an interdisciplinary theoretical framework broadened the scope of this research to include multiple concepts and perspectives of group and collective emotion. Consequently, collective emotion was found to be a dynamic and relational social phenomenon that was influenced by interconnected foreground-background emotional dynamics. Furthermore, collective memory was found to have an inextricable connection and influence on group emotion and affective practices in the present. The findings emphasise the importance of attending to the nuance and complexity of group and collective emotion if real-world social situations, such as sites of contentious politics, are to be appreciated.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
SJE	Acronym for the phrase 'Social Justice Event'
PPM	Acronym for the 'Put it to the People' March (1st case study)
FSM	Acronym for the 'Together for the Final Say' March (3rd case study)
EU	European Union
UK	United Kingdom/Great Britain
Brexit	British exit from the EU
Remainer(s)	Supporters of the UK remaining part of the EU
Leaver(s)	Supporters of the UK leaving the EU
Pride	Short for 'Pride in London' (2nd case study) (use of a capital 'P' for the event generally distinguishes it from the emotion of 'pride')
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, plus Commonly used acronym for people who are non-heteronormative

Introduction

Research into collective emotion has gained traction over the last few decades in disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, sociology and organisational research (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013), respectively developing, or overturning, previous work of early academics such as Durkheim (1912) and Le Bon (1896). The emotions that groups manifest have been conceptualised in a variety of ways, such as, emotional climates (de Rivera, 1992), circulations of affect (Ahmed, 2004a), collective emotional orientations (Bar-Tal, Halperin, & de Rivera, 2007), emotional habitus (Gould, 2009), affective or emotional atmospheres (Anderson, 2009; 2014; Griffero, 2010; 2020), among others. Often, however, there is no distinction made between what is group-based emotion and what is collective emotion and they are often used in ways that imply they are interchangeable (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014; Sullivan, 2015). Collective emotions require a plurality of participants, co-presence (which can be physical, virtual or imagined) and a sense of togetherness (Salmela, 2014a; Sullivan, 2015; 2018; Thonhauser, 2020). Group-based emotions only require self-identification with a group and a consensus on appropriate emotional responses to an event or situation which means they can be experienced by an individual in the absence of other group members (Salmela, 2014a; Thonhauser, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Conceptual and qualitatively experienced differences between these types of emotion mean that researchers of group affect and emotion should be clear about which they are investigating to ensure clarity in findings (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014).

The notion of groups being able to share and exhibit emotion as a collective is explored in Chapter 1. The extant literature is generally able to explain occurrences

of widely shared emotions in couples, dyads or trios, as well as, in teams, work groups, communities, and (inter)nationally (Menges & Kilduff, 2015). Crowd research has focussed on emotions exhibited by 'psychological' groups (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020; Reicher, 2011) where individuals identify with a social group, committing to group norms, in advance of, or as a result of, collective action (Drury & Reicher, 1999; 2009). Cognitive accounts of group emotion centralise shared group membership which often results in the conflation of group-based and collective emotion (Salmela, 2014a; Sullivan, 2015; Thonhauser, 2018). A less restrictive definition of groups and their emotions will be employed in this thesis; namely, 'social collectives'. These can be social formations founded on specific self-concepts or emergent during situations such as mass gatherings (von Scheve, 2019). Group membership is encompassed, rather than prioritised, and the social collective "provides an 'embodied grounding' of various (also more abstract or latent) social formations and contributes to collective actions, behaviors, and emotions" (p. 276).

The concept of collective emotion encourages investigation of emotional experience as part of a group or social collective involving co-presence (i.e. this can be physical, imagined or online) and a shared focus of attention and co-ordinated group behaviours or actions (Collins, 2004; Knottnerus, 2010; Menges & Kilduff, 2015; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). A focus across the case studies is of shared emotion in large, assembled collectives where affective ties are less established or socially conditioned, as may be found in work groups and tight-knit communities. Importantly, 'collective emotion' and 'group emotion' are used interchangeably throughout this thesis utilising these criteria: group-based emotion that is contingent on a shared group membership is differentiated by stipulating how a group is considered as heterogeneous, as well as, the broader conditions or

context under which the phrase is used. Through exploration of the experience and practice (i.e. the "doing" or enactment and performing) of shared group emotion, specifically collective emotion, this study sought to improve present understandings and explanations of the overriding question: how can existing theories of group and collective emotion be integrated and extended to inform a more nuanced understanding of the affective practices of emotional collectives during large-scale social justice events (SJEs)?

The literature concerned with groups and emotion (discussed in Chapter 1) demonstrates how emotion is essential in the creation, maintenance and facilitation of social bonds between people and brings them together as groups, communities and nations (i.e. what emotion *does)*. There is less academic literature concerned with how emotion manifests in a group or collective (i.e. how emotion is *done* or practiced). Further, much of the existing research is often conducted at isolated levels of analysis where emotion is understood as a micro-level, social transaction (such as Collins' (2004) interaction ritual chains) or a macro-level, socially conditioned response (such as Bar-Tal and colleagues' (2007) work on collective emotional orientations). Such a tendency could explain why current accounts of group emotion mainly conceptualise them as cognitive, embodied, and discursive or constructed (Sullivan & Day, 2019; Thonhauser, 2018; Wetherell, 2012; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). As will also be discussed in Chapter 1, emotion and affect are often conflated however, in this research, they are considered as interconnected but distinct concepts.

As analyses of the practices and functions of collective emotion are not mutually exclusive the research objectives of this thesis were concerned with the practice of collective emotion and its constitutive features and properties. However,

only focussing on the *doing* of emotion and exploring features of practice could, potentially, privilege the individual over the collective and serve to only acknowledge but not explicate factors beyond the micro-level (Baker, 2019; Brown, 2020; Gammerl, Hutta, & Scheer, 2017). Consequently, the interconnected relations of influential factors were an important consideration and the research objectives devised to guide this thesis were to: (a) identify and synthesise theories of group emotion that can frame and guide novel investigations of affective practices and collective emotion in crowd, or large group, situations, (b) investigate a series of public assemblages of heterogeneous groups (i.e. where a shared group identity is less established or prevalent) to explore the role of group membership in collective emotion formation and facilitation and (c) document and theorise emotional behaviour in observed crowd or large group situations to generate new understandings about the features and properties of collective emotions such as intensity or 'peaks' and their dynamic relations using detailed retrospective and prospective (or ongoing) case studies.

To frame the investigation and address the first research objective a theoretical framework was devised, as explained in Chapter 2, by combining and extending existing theories of emotion as a social, rather than as a primarily individual, phenomenon. Contextual and situational properties of collective emotion were explored with a focus on affective practice (Wetherell, 2012), affective arrangements (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019a) and emotional habitus (Gould, 2009). Integrating them, in what I describe as 'background' and 'foreground' perspectives of affect, meant that the interplay of these features, within collective emotion, could be discerned. One of the strengths of this framework is that the dynamic and relational properties of collective emotion can be appraised in their

present context, as influential artefacts from the past and as properties that are changeable over time (Collins, 2012). Alongside this, a broad notion of 'togetherness' was incorporated as an influential aspect which included 'we-mode' experience, physical co-presence and the role of group membership; critically, group membership was not prioritised over the other dimensions of togetherness.

In a move away from researching established, cohesive groups and communities this research focussed on non-activist participants (i.e. unfettered by pre-formed affective ties and social bonds with local groups) as well as involving participants who were part of pre-existing groups. Anti-Brexit marches and 'Pride in London' were chosen because they are SJEs concerned with polarising issues which effect society as a whole; they are, therefore, comprised of diverse groups and individuals, as well as being, emotionally charged situations (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Tilly, Castañeda, & Wood, 2019). These SJEs were public, physical events of 'sanctioned' contentious politics that were potentially disruptive to the socio-political environment and challenged dominant social narratives (Tilly, 2008; Tilly & Wood, 2013), however, they are political demonstrations that are planned with the support and agreement of authorities. Further, instead of relying on "classified event counts and single-episode narratives" the use of varied cases studies allowed an approach to "trace interactions among participants in multiple episodes" (Tilly, 2008, p. 211).

Crowd research often concentrates on sites of potential conflict or disaster (Hopkins et al., 2019) whereas Pride was chosen because it was expected to provide a positive crowd event with a reduced likelihood of confrontational situations. The dominant emotions at the anti-Brexit march were less predictable but it was expected that they would be environments of varied affect and emotion that could

include conflictual and celebratory collective emotions (Sullivan & Day, 2019). Semi-structured interviews investigated the sense that interviewees made of the protest they attended, the emotions they experienced and emotional or affect-laden behaviours and actions they engaged in. Interviews provided an insight into the change of emotion before, during and after these events that went beyond researcher interpretations of observations and narratives. Video footage that could be viewed in a 360-degree format (using a Virtual Reality headset), in the third case study, enabled aspects of interviewee accounts to be realised and experienced by the researcher himself through temporary immersion into key events at the protest.

The subsequent three chapters are each dedicated to an SJE and the analysis of empirical data. The first case study (Chapter 4) is concerned with an anti-Brexit march that was organised to protest against the UK leaving the European Union. In advance of, and after, the march emotion was described as an individual experience whereas emotion at the event was recounted as collectively owned and 'felt' (León & Zahavi, 2018; Salmela & Nagatsu, 2017) which was interpreted as demonstrating the fluidity and dynamism of collective emotion (Collins, 2012; van Kleef & Fischer, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). The next case study, 'Pride in London' (Chapter 5), focuses on an annual, established event rather than an expressly political demonstration. Unlike the preceding case study a feature of the parade was the observing crowd. The sense interviewees made of the presence of an audience and out-group members is explored in the chapter through a focus on their emotional practice and experience as individuals and as a collective (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019).

Longitudinal approaches are unusual in qualitative research particularly where immersion into a community is not possible for an extended period of time or the

interviewees are not members of a cohesive group (Pink & Morgan, 2013; Rebstein, 2012). Despite this, the final case study (Chapter 6) returns the focus to the issue of Brexit. A subsequent large-scale demonstration was a serendipitous opportunity to reconnect with previous participants. As a consequence of knowledge gained through attending the previous anti-Brexit march (Gough & Madill, 2012) the observational approach was adapted to include a mobile, 360-degree video camera. Sequential analysis of the video footage provided novel insights into the embodiment, and quick succession, of changing collective emotion in action thereby overcoming the limitation of qualitative research that relies solely on retrospective accounts (Knoblauch, Wetzels, & Haken, 2019). A further unanticipated feature of this march was the opportunity to observe collective emotion in response to a group victory. Where sports events are engineered to elicit the drama of competition, and the emotional highs and lows associated with this, political demonstrations often are not organised around the immediate achievement of group goals (Klandermans, 2004). At this event, however, there was a live vote held in Parliament which was broadcast throughout the protest march. Findings from analysing this case example challenge the literature from Social Identity theory that the strength of group membership and identification is the key, critical element in collective emotion.

The case studies are discussed in further depth in Chapter 7 to illustrate how collective emotion was relational and comparable at different SJEs while cross-case comparisons support conclusions of collective emotion as a dynamic and fluid phenomenon. Exploring the interplay of the components of the theoretical framework, across the three case studies, offers insights into the complexity of collective emotion as a variable social phenomenon connected to in-the-moment practice and togetherness, as well as, in relation to sedimented affective practices

and embedded emotional habitus (Gould, 2009; Wetherell, 2012). Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by reiterating the key findings of the case studies in order to highlight the contributions made to theory and existing research. Recommendations are made regarding how findings can be applied in more practical ways to large-scale events and mass gatherings.

It is important to note that the thesis is structured so that Chapters 5-7 are individual case studies of each SJE and they are presented in chronological order. This is by default and design. Consideration was given to placing the case studies in a different order in which the anti-Brexit case studies would be sequential, however, this could imply to the reader that there was less importance given to the Pride case study. Retaining a chronological order encourages the same amount of attention be given to each and break-ups the focus on Brexit. Fortuitously, the very unique elements of each event also led to the chronological order providing an 'evolution' in terms of analysis of their respective emotional dynamics and affective practices; the first case study was a traditional political march, the Pride parade had the additional feature of a defined audience and, in the third case study, the live vote was an unforeseen element that intensified collective emotions dramatically. Ultimately, each case study begins with an outline of the socio-political context surrounding them, which means that they can be read in isolation from each other, and not necessarily in the order provided.

Chapter 1 : Evaluating the Collective Emotion Literature

In this chapter the existing literature will be reviewed to provide an understanding of research relevant to the overarching question: how can existing theories of group and collective emotion be integrated and extended to inform a more nuanced understanding of the affective practices of emotional collectives during large-scale SJEs? The focus is on literature that has theorised or studied emotion of groups and collectives as either physical or psychological entities. Physical groups refer to an assemblage of people at the same temporal and geographical location in space whereas psychological groups are people who think of themselves as members of a shared social category that they have an emotional attachment to (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020; Reicher, 2011).

The review begins by exploring mechanisms and processes proposed as responsible for behaviours and actions in groups and collectives which demonstrate that ascription of emotion and affective states to collectives is appropriate. Discussion is organised around specific theorisations of group and collective emotion and is illustrated, where necessary, with examples to clarify how they have been applied empirically. This focussed and systematic interdisciplinary review, while not aiming to be fully comprehensive, provides a broad account of relevant trans-disciplinary research, methodologies and research techniques utilised in collective emotion research. Evaluating this literature also began the process of addressing the research objective to identify appropriate theories to assist in the investigation of collective emotion at SJEs. This stage in the research process also served to identify gaps in the literature and areas for improvement that will inform Chapter 2 where the theoretical framework and research questions for the current research are developed.

Group and Collective Emotion as Theoretical Constructs

The role of emotion within social interaction has been by discussed by phenomenologists, such as Stein, who identified the development of communal relations and subsequent feelings of solidarity where collective values, and the associated emotions, are shared (Calcagno, 2020; Szanto, 2015). Building on this insight that all emotions are social in origin, Walther posited that reciprocity and mutual awareness leads to the unification of a community which can be understood as collective emotion (Zahavi & Salice, 2017). These are “felt evaluations” that, through being shared, become joint commitments for a group (Helm, 2002; 2020) where the synchronisation of individual object-directed feelings, or collective affective intentionality, becomes joint feeling (Sánchez Guerrero, 2016; 2020). Similarly, Reicher and colleagues (2004), posit that the fate of the group takes primacy over individual concerns which means that where people act in ways that conform to a group identity it will be the aims and interests of the group that provide the basis for evaluating most individual acts. The authors’ emphasis was on behaviour, rather than emotion, but the implication is group-appropriate emotional behaviour that is informed by reasoning and cannot simply be dismissed as an irrational or ‘mindless mob’ reaction (Reicher, Stott, Cronin, & Adang, 2004).

Tuomela (2007; 2013) proposed that groups and collectives are products of collective intentionality and commitment where there is a unifying reason for individuals to engage in group-oriented activities. His argument is that “collective intentions involve shared commitments to action, while mutual beliefs are shared doxastic states (often involving iterated, higher-order beliefs), and collective emotions are or involve shared affective phenomena” (Tuomela, 2013, p. 6). To clarify, “doxastic states” are individual beliefs that opportunities, or the conditions

required, for joint action will be fulfilled to enable the group to act. Emotion is proposed to be a group-normative response for ‘we-moders’ and does not necessarily have associated ‘felt’ aspects:

> Bodiless group agents do not blush when ashamed, although their members may take part in collective guilt or pride and in similar shared emotions in the we-mode. Groups can never be full-blown agents (or persons) in the flesh-and-blood sense, but at best entities that share some similar functional features with intentional human agents. (p. 23).

Similar emotions across group members would be expected because they value objects in a similar way (i.e. pride at a group victory or grief at the death of a leader). They can act as a group agent but, as an entity, the collective has no consciousness and is incapable of experiencing shared feeling or qualia. Rather individual members have consciousness and can therefore experience “we-feelings” as individual agents.

While social ontology could be a useful framework for understanding the reality of collective emotions and the group agents that create them there still remains the division of individual and non-individual social realities (Lo Presti, 2013; Schatzki, 2003). In the former, the construction of social reality, and social phenomenon, is achieved on an individually cognitive or collectively agreed level. In the latter, collective emotions is conceptualised as the product of social interactions or the outcome of social activities. Tuomela’s theory does allow for joint agreement of group members to feel a certain way, such as, proud for something ‘we’ did, however he appears to rule out the possibility of a collective, embodied feeling. The concern raised is that this leads to the creation of ‘feeling rules’ for the group which

is not the same as group members experiencing such a feeling (Salmela, 2012; 2014a; Thonhauser, 2018).

As a distinctly social species, human feeling functions to signify value of an object to oneself and communicate that to others (Schloßberger, 2020). Importantly, this is not simply the act of sharing an individual or private state but rather a means of communicating one's own emotion to influence others to feel similarly (Rimé, 2009; Rimé, Bouchat, Paquot, & Giglio, 2020). For example, an object perceived as a threat, such as counter-protestors at a political demonstration, evokes anxiety which would be expressed to others as a warning. Failure to communicate and share this anxiety, in such an instance, could be detrimental to the group. This highlights the communicative, social nature of emotion (Parkinson, 1996; 2011) and how "emotions are active and embodied modes of engagement with the social and practical world" (Parkinson, 2011, p. 5). The importance of interpersonal interaction in emotion means that cognitive or physiological models cannot fully explain such phenomena (Parkinson, 1996) particularly when considering collective emotion (Sullivan, 2015; Thonhauser, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013; von Scheve & Salmela, 2014).

Tuomela sought to address the individual-focus of socially constructed reality with his 'we-mode' approach. The transformation from an individual 'I-mode' to collective 'we-mode' is achieved through sharing individual values and the fostering of joint commitment to, what becomes, group values. The shared nature of emotion, which is felt with others and is not just an ability to recognise or perceive them in one's own group and others, has been posited as being a precursor to the formation of communities, groups and collectives, as well as, being a facilitating factor in their maintenance and growth (Salmela, 2012; 2014a). Expressing 'felt evaluations' about

an object (Helm, 2002; 2020) or, more simply, the sharing of emotion has been suggested to be most successful through 'bottom-up' causal mechanisms, such as emotional contagion and mimicry, when others are co-present and jointly attending to objects with shared value (Salmela & Nagatsu, 2016; 2017; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) which results in collective affective intentionality (Sánchez Guerrero, 2020). These analyses indicate that emotion as a shared, collective experience is possible even if a phenomenological account of collective emotions is yet to be sufficiently explored theoretically or empirically (Pacherie, 2017).

How Collective Emotions have been Investigated

When considering the literature on group and collective emotion and affect it became clear that it is conceptualised in a variety of ways that are often used interchangeably; mood, affect, emotion and feeling are commonly discussed and often not distinguished from one another (Fuchs, 2013; von Scheve, 2018). Mood for a collective is considered to be stable and long-lasting positive or negative phenomenon without a defined object focus (Jasper, 2011). For example, a depressed or excited mood can influence behaviour and decision-making without individual or group awareness yet, if attention is directed towards the prevailing mood, it can be accurately identified (Kelly & Barsade, 2001). Affect has an object focus that evokes individual or collective responses (i.e. to be affected by something) and can initiate emotion and feeling (Ahmed, 2004a; Gould, 2009; von Scheve, 2018)**.** Finally, emotion and feeling are generally individual and bodily felt sensations where emotion is the discernment, or conscious labelling, of a particular feeling or felt bodily response (Fuchs, 2013; Gould, 2009). Each conceptualisation locates

emotion in individual and collective bodies that are subjected to it, capable of perceiving it in themselves and others and able to identify, or label, an emotion.

A highly influential, early account of crowd emotion was conducted by Le Bon (1896) with his observational studies of large groups resisting political change during the 19th century. He argued that, as part of a crowd, an individual will not act, think or feel the same way as they would as an isolated individual. A crowd environment was proposed to lower intelligence by averaging it out across the participants and, as a result of anonymity, contagion and suggestibility, there would be a return to uncontrollable, baser, more primitive instincts (Le Bon, 1896). Such conclusions have influenced how large assemblages of people are portrayed as a threat or public menace in the media and in the creation of policies on public behaviour and institutional responses to large gatherings such as sports crowds, protests and riots (Stott, Hodgett, & Pearson, 2012; Stott, Hutchison, & Drury, 2001; Stott & Radburn, 2020; Stott & Reicher, 1998).

Although influential internationally to the present day, conceptualisations of the irrational, emotional crowd (Borch, 2006) or examples of a ‘mob mentality’ (Waddington, 2008) garner much criticism as being reductive, ill-informed and ideologically motivated (Reicher, 1996; Stott & Drury, 2017). It has been consistently demonstrated that the construction of the crowd as a single, primitive entity by a powerful out-group leads to their inhumane treatment (for example, see analysis of the 2011 UK riots by Reicher and Stott (2011)) and the promotion of crowd violence in response to the use of indiscriminate force (Reicher, Stott, Cronin, & Adang, 2004; Stott & Drury, 2017). Crowds have been equated with irrationality, i.e., emotional, and lacking intentionality because behaviours are subconscious and involuntary (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). This negates the

opportunity for practitioners and policy makers to consider the benefits of positive crowd emotion in crowd management and policy creation; for example, reducing the desire to be violent at public gatherings would improve safety. Instead there is a presumption that a mass gathering will be a site of negative emotion and emotional contagion that should be controlled (Hopkins & Reicher, 2020) which becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy (Reicher, Stott, Cronin, & Adang, 2004). Moreover, while descriptions of stampedes in response to “collective fear” and “mass panic” are now challenged, the move toward the positive features of crowd behaviour and collective resilience can also obscure some interactional features between individuals, groups and their environments (i.e. in times of conflict, competition or celebration; Sullivan & Day, 2019).

Socially Generated Group Emotion

One of the earliest theories dealing with the sociology of emotion was Durkheim’s (1912) account of collective effervescence in religious rituals. Group identity and symbols are reinvigorated and social bonds strengthened through close human assemblage in group activities (Durkheim, 1912). Research exploring the social mechanisms of groups and emotion indicates multiple factors in the generation of group-level and collective emotion. These include the shared goals and embodied features of physical proximity or co-presence in the creation of ‘collective effervescence’ (Durkheim, 1912), social rituals that create and maintain group emotion (Collins, 2004) and the ‘ritual’, interactive and outside-the-norm nature of events. To clarify, these are culturally acceptable but not ‘everyday’ social events which could include anything from political rallies to festivals but would exclude more banal activities involving large numbers of people such as the commute to work or a busy shopping centre (Knottnerus, 2014).

An example of research concerned with ritual and emotion was that conducted by Tutenges (2013). Through the observation and interviewing of young Danish holidaymakers and holiday guides, in situ, he found that tactics (such as games to elicit particular behaviours or rules of holiday conduct) are used to generate collective effervescence and bring holidaymakers together as a group (Tutenges, 2013). This demonstrates synchronization of emotion as a result of co-presence and co-ordinated behaviour, however, the analytical focus is on the experience and displayed behaviours; the author does not detail what positive emotions are evident beyond a broad description of collective effervescence. Other research has taken a quantitative approach to collective effervescence. For example, Draper (2014) surveyed 807 Judeo-Christian institutions in the USA which captured the responses of 73,196 individual participants who rated their experience of collective effervescence, during worship services. The items used to explore this were interested in the frequency with which they experienced “a sense of God’s presence”, “awe or mystery,” “inspiration”, and “joy”. He found that effervescent worship, sense of belonging, and group commitment were all highly correlated (Draper, 2014). These self-report items were used as a cumulative score for collective effervescence although, apart from one item, they explore individual ‘spiritual experience’ and something beyond the group. As respondents were asked about the frequency of such experiences when attending religious services there is the implication that co-presence with others is an aspect of their affective experience, however, it is impossible to discern if there is emotional synchronisation at any one event.

In his 2004 work on the ritual features of social interaction, Collins extended the concept of collective effervescence to include ‘emotional energy’ which is

revitalised by social gatherings and can then be transformed into group action. Collins' developed a theoretical framework that aimed to demonstrate how emotion works on multiple, interacting levels (i.e. the micro, meso and macro) (Stets & Turner, 2008). Groups experience emotional energy "from participation in (1) shared activities and interactions, (2) they repeat shared activities and interactions that raise emotional energy (and avoid those that do not), and (3) this repetition creates "chains" that become routinized into social structures" (Baker, 2019, p. 387). Collective effervescence and emotional energy were demonstrated by Johnstone's (2010) investigation of music and regular communal gathering as a way of re-energising emotional energy. Interviewees described positive emotional experiences that they linked to regularly singing and worshipping with others (Johnstone, 2010). However, similar to Draper's (2014) research, this was an amalgamation of events and instances that provided insight into the sense that individuals made of music and community in their religious experiences. Consideration was not given to the role of emotion synchronicity between co-present others or co-ordinated, social behaviours in their generation.

There is a preponderance of research on positive group emotion associated with Durkheim's concept but "one limitation of the neo-Durkheimian framework is that it fails to consider collective mixed emotions" (Sullivan, 2015, p. 385) or "multilayered or vacillating emotional dynamics that may simultaneously ignite and dispel collective life" (Latif, Blee, DeMichele, & Simi, 2018, p. 498). Yet, it is important to note that negative emotions such as public feeling in response to 9/11 (Collins, 2012) or a mixture of emotions (Busher, 2016; Gould, 2009; Heider & Warner, 2010) can result in emotional energy that can encourage solidarity (Collins, 2012; Durkheim, 1912). In Heider & Warner's (2010) ethnographic study of "Sacred Harp" choir singers they

explored the creation of solidarity among group members who gathered to sing together. They concluded that the shared attention, co-ordinated behaviour and bodily co-presence are elements of collective effervescence. Contrary to Collins' (2004) proposal of a requirement of shared mood, the authors asserted that Durkheim's concept of "collective consciousness" and the mutual awareness this entails, was more appropriate because "a room full of tear-streaked faces is not an index of identical emotions" (Heider & Warner, 2010, p. 89). The emphasis on a shared sense of what the group felt as a whole, rather than on similar collective emotional behaviour reinforcing the group's values and symbols, could be better supported in future research through the investigation of the sense that participants make of their own emotional responses.

Generally, research on collective effervescence is restricted to the positive, emotional experience(s) of small, distinct groups (Baker, 2019; Boyns & Luery, 2015; Turner, 2019). Consistent findings in ritual theories of emotion are that co-presence and co-ordinated or repetitive behaviours play an important role in group emotion. Furthermore, they highlight how group and collective emotion is generated through social interaction. However, emotional energy and collective effervescence are posited as affective phenomena without offering insight into which emotion(s) contribute to this energy or how generalized affective states come to be reported as specific group-based and collective emotions (Sullivan, 2015). As discussed below, other frameworks and models based on empirical data provide a more complex picture of social interaction and group or collective emotion that cannot be explained as being a "process that is initiated simply by a number of actors gathering mutually and performing ritual practices" (von Scheve, 2011, p. 76). To gain a nuanced understanding of the features and properties of group and collective emotion this

thesis aims to include objects of shared attention, contextual background information, and cognitive, intentional facets of emotion and social interaction. Consequently, this will provide better explanations of behavioural or co-ordinated responses, as well as, the mobilization of a social collective (Salmela, 2012; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

Affected Subjects

The preceding section discussed theories which considered emotion as a shared mood (Collins, 2004) or collective consciousness (Durkheim, 1912; Heider & Warner, 2010) generated by people interacting and gathering. Another framework for understanding group and collective emotion has been through the conceptualisation of atmospheres where emotion is a perceptible social phenomena when encountering groups (de Rivera, 1992). Atmospheres are “singular affective qualities that emanate from but exceed the assembling of bodies” (Anderson, 2009, p. 77). Further they are “a feeling, more or less distinguished from emotion, affect and mood, that is not private and internal but objectively diffuses in the space and works as a qualitative-sentimental *prius* of every sensible (and later differentiated) encounter with the world” (Griffero, 2020, p. 263). It has been extensively studied in geographical and affect theory informed research, however, it is a concept that has not been operationalised despite its common descriptive use in everyday language (Anderson, 2014; van Leeuwen, van Stekelenburg, & Klandermans, 2016). This makes it difficult to derive testable research questions from the growing literature on atmospheres, place and human activities (Michels, 2015; Trigg, 2020).

Research in social and environmental psychology has overcome some of these limitations of geographical studies of affective atmospheres; for example, positive affective evaluation of sports stadium atmospheres was contingent on

socially interactive factors: the presence of other fans, immersion of fans into the event and elicited shared affect in spectators (Uhrich & Benkenstein, 2010). Similarly, in empirical research conducted by van Leeuwen and colleagues (2015), analysis of data collected at seventy-five European street demonstrations held between 2009 and 2013 enabled them to construct a typology of perceived 'protest atmospheres' (harmonious, volatile, tense and chaotic). Their typology was informed by how protestors perceived the behaviour of other protestors (orderly or disorderly) compared with the police (respectful or aggressive). They found this confirmed their initial hypothesis that police repression had the most predictive power as to whether a demonstration atmosphere would be perceived negatively (van Leeuwen, Klandermans, & van Stekelenburg, 2015). It is a useful study to include because they demonstrate how atmosphere and collective emotion are distinct. The affective experience of the protest atmosphere is extrapolated from reports of physical deportment in others instead of exploration of subjective experience of group emotion or affect. Reporting observed, remembered behaviour of others rather than one's felt experience may reflect that atmospheres cannot be felt retrospectively so should be documented in the present as they are encountered (Kolehmainen, 2020).

Despite being a frequent, almost daily, experience that people report in many situations and locations "it is extremely difficult to be analytically precise when empirically researching atmospheres" (Michels, 2015, p. 255). Further, as a unit of analysis, whilst affective atmospheres can be applied to many diverse situations (from sports stadiums (Uhrich & Benkenstein, 2010) to foodbanks (Denning, 2021)) it is unwieldy and lacking in specificity (Trigg, 2020). Although a person might use a similar vocabulary and talk of a positive atmosphere, for the purposes of this thesis it is important to be able to explore conditions in which collective emotions have

features of intensity and duration which require a degree of analytical specificity. Moreover, it is problematic to conceptualise affect as an emergent, unmanaged, uni-directional phenomenon that humans are subjected to, rather than as something they actively create (Mühlhoff, 2019; Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2015; Wetherell, 2012). This is exacerbated when trying to understand how group agency and effort play a role in the generation of emotions (Sullivan, 2014b). As proposed by Trigg (2020), atmospheres do play a role as a background component of (knowingly) shared emotion and togetherness which is explored further in the development of the theoretical framework proposed for this thesis (see Chapter 2). Finally, atmospheres highlight important aspects of the role of emotion, within societies and communities, where the focus is on individual perceptions of feelings between people but they are less able to explain emotion that is a collective or shared experience.

An alternative, highly-influential approach within the social sciences originates from the study of cultural politics: Ahmed's (2004a) interpretation of 'affective economies'. Consistent with ritual theories of emotion discussed earlier (i.e. Durkheim (1912) and Collins (2004)), the emphasis is placed on affect and emotion being socially generated and, similar to atmospheres, they are conceptualised by Ahmed as social and relational phenomena. Emotions are described as circulating between bodies, 'sticking' to individuals and objects and bringing them together as a collective because "emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments" (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 119). Importantly, emotion and affect are not simply generated, they are generative, and they are not restricted to individual experience and perception.

The concept of ‘circulations of affect’ was used alongside microsociology and neuroscience by Ross (2014) to explore the manifestation of mixed collective emotions in different political contexts (e.g. public emotions surrounding 9/11). The resulting comprehensive account of social relations demonstrated how “in the world of social interaction, we are more likely to observe shifting moods, re-emerging memories, and reciprocally entwined emotions than stand-alone feelings” (p. 60). As the tragedy unfolded, media reports often drew on Pearl Harbour as a parallel to inform their portrayal of ‘national’ feeling. Further, in his discussion of the build-up to the Yugoslavian war, Ross highlights the importance of the ongoing protests, sites of emotional entrainment and co-presence, in reviving emotional energy and collective emotion. These detailed case studies show how research can identify contributing features of co-participation, shared attention and concentrations of public communication in the production of collective emotions that are not “natural or pregiven but forged through a patchwork of lived events” (p. 96).

Hutchison (2016) has also drawn upon Ahmed’s work to make the additional point that multiple collective emotions can occur in a given group. Narratives created around the 2002 Bali bombings, by the media and political figures, were of a collective trauma for Australia defined by shared national feelings of anger and mourning. The Australian media simultaneously evoked national identity and pride to counter negative collective feelings and unify Australians against national threats such as terrorism. Her work also elucidates how collective trauma is a ‘state’ encompassing many emotional aspects although this goes beyond the focus of this review and thesis. The analysis of events using circulations of affect as a framework challenges assumptions of emotions in a group being: restricted to or synonymous

with those of an individual, static and unaffected by temporal and situational factors, and the same across the group (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016).

In each of these examples Ahmed's (2004a) theory of affect is applied to textual examples of emotion, such as websites and written narratives, and extrapolates the emotions that such language will generate in others. Analysis of texts, however, does not provide an insight into the embodied aspects of *doing* emotion (for example using facial expression or bodily processes). Instead they are posited as discursive techniques and the 'reality' of emotions, even as circulations of affect, retains qualities of being disembodied, "uncanny and spooky" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 142). Conclusions are inferred from theory-driven case studies which means that we are presented "with a story more plausible as an account of strategically manipulated public discourses" (Bially Mattern, 2011, p. 69) rather than a nuanced understanding of the features and properties of socially circulating affect. The important contributions of these analyses to collective emotion research are the considerations given to macro-level features leading to the creation of collective and group emotions. The complexity of collective emotion and how it is influenced by a variety of factors, not only time or focus of attention, is indicated through their considerations of how affect circulates within society and social environments. The focus on social bodies as they are represented within and by discourse also highlights, through its omission, the need to investigate how people practice emotion and make sense of shared affective experiences.

Embodied and Enactive Approaches

Approaches that focus on the body with more theoretical and empirical precision can be grouped together as emphasising embodiment and enactment. Emotion has been researched in terms of levels of 'collective affect' (Barsade &

Gibson, 2007) where it is shared in social settings through physiological processes. Mechanisms such as automatic brain and body processes of emotional contagion and mimicry (Hatfield, Carpenter, & Rapson, 2014), and empathic responses based on mirror neuron activation (Lamm & Silani, 2014) have been identified as precursors to, or propagators of, collective emotion. These 'affective transfer processes' (Barsade & Gibson, 2012; Kelly & Barsade, 2001) have been identified as physical mechanisms "which transfer and create affect among group members" (Barsade & Gibson, 2012, p. 119) and propagate emotional energy resulting from social interaction (Baker, 2019). These are also related to, or result from the interplay with, broader social contexts and differences in emotional behaviour particularly between cultures (de Rivera, 1992; Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014). Contemporary research would indicate that these affective transfer processes stimulate mu-opioids that promote positive emotions and social bonding in ritual contexts (Charles et al., 2020). Other research indicates 'emotion-management', the translation of emotion into culturally and contextually normative behaviour that conform to "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979) or 'affective impression management' (Barsade & Gibson, 2012).

One theory of group emotion that attempts to move beyond the micro-level of analysis comes from Price (2016). While the author contends that emotion cannot be conceptualised in terms of, or attributed to, a group, due to the absence of a collective consciousness, she directs attention to the function of expressive behaviour in collective emotion. Emotional phenomena can be collective and their expression motivates people to share and feel together. A desire to share individual emotion leads to a process of 'collective emotional cognition' to reach a shared belief and understanding. This shared emotion, either an amplification of individual

emotions or a transmutation (e.g. from individual shame to collective anger or defiance (Britt & Heise, 2000; Pettigrove & Parsons, 2012)), can then be a stimulus for collective emotional action, such as a protest, which instigates further sharing of emotion and generates feelings of solidarity (Price, 2016).

Similarly, Goldenberg et al (2020) have offered a compatible theory of collective emotion in which they propose that the mutual awareness of others who feel similarly can precede the formation of a shared identity. It is the emotional dynamics that serve to establish, define and influence emotional norms of an emerging group. As a result of contagion or a desire to communicate those feelings this process can lead to collective emotions becoming magnified but less variable. Sharing emotions within a group leads to them becoming intensified, stabilised and (re)invigorated over time and emotional dynamics lead to "mutual influence and a development of a sense of identity, which contributes to unique macrolevel processes" (p. 156).

Both theories posit processes of group emotion that have physiological, psychological and social factors without proposing the abstract movement or circulation of affect or emotion between bodies (Wetherell, 2012) or grounded in discursive treatments of emotion (Bially Mattern, 2011). As noted, Price (2016) does not commit to the existence of collective emotion and relies instead on the expressive behaviours of co-present others and group consensus to signify emotion and their unique functions for collectives. In contrast, Goldenberg and colleagues (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020) go further by accepting the existence of collective emotions as a socially affective phenomena influenced by contextual and material factors.

As von Scheve and Ismer (2013) argue these ‘micro-social’, bottom-up aspects, while necessary in the generation of group and collective emotion, are insufficient to be considered a sole causal factor (see also discussion of social identity theory findings below). Echoing criticism of affective atmospheres and circulations of affect is the suggestion of a lack of agency in the transmission or contagion of affect “where the passive individual is haunted, hit, or infiltrated from outside by an active affective influence” (Mühlhoff, 2019, p. 195). An overarching objective taken up by this thesis is the gap in the literature highlighted here, and throughout this review; collective emotion needs to be studied beyond micro-level features in order that the nuances and novel aspects not be overlooked (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

Emotion as the Enactment of Identity and Group Norms

Group membership and self-categorisation, as either individual or group member, has been used to explain group behaviour in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982). Relational behaviour of in-group members, and potentially current and historical relations with out-groups, changes as a result of forming an attachment to a group. This involves a cognitive shift towards thinking in terms of a collective or shared social identity (i.e. the strength of identification with a group). It is an approach that has been endorsed and applied across disciplines beyond social psychology (Brown, 2020), however, this theory, or rather paradigm, cannot account for social context that influences those intergroup relations (Stott, Hutchison, & Drury, 2001). As an approach it advocates for the investigation of crowd relations, such as crowd density and practices, rather than addressing

emotional embodiment directly and therefore does not aim to explain emotional behaviour at a group level (Brown, 2020).

The Elaborated Social Identity Model (Reicher, 1996) developed this theory by focusing on the history and contingencies of social encounters between groups and has been instrumental in identifying a link between group membership and behaviour. Group-based emotion, where salience of group identity can lead to convergence of emotion through identity-related group norms, has been concluded to explain Durkheim's (1912) concept of collective effervescence. Specifically, research combining interviews and surveys conducted at the Magh Mela, an annual Hindu festival in India, (Hopkins et al., 2016; Hopkins et al., 2019; Khan et al., 2016) and the annual Islamic pilgrimage, the Hajj, to Mecca (Alnabulsi, Drury, Vignoles, & Oogink, 2020) found that participants had a more positive experience and felt a greater shared group identity if they able to enact their religious identity and experience more intimate interactions. While this was surmised to explain a positive emotional experience, or collective effervescence, participants were asked to rate feeling more alive, fulfilled, content, better and happier than ever before in their lives (Alnabulsi, Drury, Vignoles, & Oogink, 2020; Hopkins et al., 2016; Khan et al., 2016). Conclusions were based on cumulative scores of specific group membership as well as the aggregation of these self-rated emotions and states which suggests that emotions and states of spiritual well-being were synonymous. One study offered a deeper insight into the sense that pilgrims made of their experience at the Magh Mela concluding that an increased positive affective experience was the result of the validation of beliefs through interacting and being with others who hold a shared pilgrim identity (Hopkins et al., 2019).

Research explicitly critiquing Le Bon's irrational, emotional crowd to posit a rational, intentional one, stresses a positive or resilient view of crowd-based collective action. However, important features of crowds and other groups that have been less emphasised are the roles of emotion and authority (Drury & Reicher, 1999; 2009). Empowerment has been highlighted as a phenomenal experience resulting from the "imposition of self or identity in the world" (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p. 718) through collective action against perceived illegitimate behaviour. Conflict at large-scale events, such as protests, is often provided as evidence of the irrationality of emotion in groups (i.e. Le Bon, 1896). Contemporary research, however, shows it is often the result of participants' perceptions of repression and illegitimate actions by authorities (Drury & Reicher, 2009; Stott, Hutchison, & Drury, 2001; van Leeuwen, Klandermans, & van Stekelenburg, 2015). The indication therefore is that emotion and intention or reason are interdependent, not mutually exclusive, cognitive processes interwoven in collective action (Drury & Reicher, 2009).

An extension of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982) and the Elaborated Social Identity Model (Reicher, 1996) is Intergroup Emotions Theory (Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007). It develops these paradigms by explicitly including a cognitive appraisal account of emotion where "group-based emotions depend on group members' appraisals of the current intergroup context in which they find themselves" (Brown, 2020, p. 15). Consistent with conformity of ideas and behaviour, with other in-group members, emotion generated within a group is also congruent, compliant with group norms, becoming shared and co-ordinated. Emotion does not, however, have to be synchronous, may be incongruent with personal emotional response, and the activation of different group memberships could lead to varied emotional response to the same stimuli

(Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008; Mackie & Smith, 2017). Strength of group membership has been suggested as essential to collective emotions; for example, collective guilt has been extensively studied (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014) with research finding that high group identifiers were less likely to report feelings of guilt if past reparations had been made to out-groups that were mistreated by their in-group (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2006). Similarly, collective angst in response to a perceived threat to the stability of the in-group is increased in high group identifiers (Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Wohl & Branscombe, 2009) and a motivator to action to prevent the dissolution of a group and the membership that it entails (Wohl, Squires, & Caouette, 2012).

Further iterations of these models have offered theoretical alternatives that seek to elucidate how there is a role for normative emotion alignment, through sharing emotions, in the creation and maintenance of a social identity and establishing a group (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a; 2009b). In the absence of a shared group membership, laboratory research has found that hypothetically experiencing an event with strangers can lead to the formation of a "psychological group", a shared social identity, that engenders trust, support and "a shift towards intimacy" (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020, p. 4). The evolution of research, informed by social identity theory, to include emotion, not comprehensively covered here, is evidence of the flexibility and applicability of theoretical and empirical work within this paradigm (Brown, 2020). This could indicate it as the way forward in the understanding of group emotion and its appropriate use in this thesis. However, it remains a cognitively-driven and behaviourally-focussed account of collective emotion where, essentially, individual behaviours are managed by group-directed "feeling rules" (Salmela, 2012) and "fails to do justice to the complexities of group-

based identities" (Brown, 2020, p. 10). The multiplicity of identities that people inhabit mean that their fluidity is often missed by social-identity approaches and, by default, the influence that variable emotional experiences and practices may have on group-based and collective emotions in varying contexts (Sullivan & Day, 2019).

Research consistently finds that many forms of collective action, from attending political protests to music festivals, are associated with positive group emotions that do not preclude reason which supports calls for the need to examine the role of group reasons and intentions (Salmela, 2014b; Sullivan, 2015; Tuomela, 2013). Social identity-informed research indicates emotions are contingent on group membership and reducible to an outcome, by-product or group 'norm'. This is helpful in terms of providing heuristically-informed accounts of behaviour, however, It is unclear how individual group members come to have the same representations of what their shared social identity is and how they understand what behaviour is, and is not, appropriate (Ross, 2014; Salmela, 2014a; Sullivan, 2015). Ultimately, concepts of group membership, intragroup dynamics and empowerment advance an understanding of cognitive factors influencing positive and negative group affect, however, they are unconcerned with emotion specificity or their individual or collective expression (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; rua Wall, 2019; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). A stated objective of this thesis is to extend current accounts of group and collective emotion and will involve bringing together cognitive and embodied accounts in the understanding of the practice of emotion at SJEs.

Social Appraisal

The cognitive accounts discussed so far are critical of face-to-face mechanisms such as mimicry, joint attention and other affective transfer processes (Barsade & Gibson, 2012; Kelly & Barsade, 2001). Despite this, group status has

been found to influence their success (Hess, Houde, & Fischer, 2014) which indicates the role of social context in emotion sharing and convergence (Parkinson, 2020). Social appraisal is one theory of group emotion that has been proposed to account for micro-level, bottom-up mechanisms and macro-level, top-down processes (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). In this framework, the emotional significance of events is determined between people and the response is a result of socialised practice that is socially and culturally determined (Parkinson, 1996). Appraisal of another's' emotion can inform one's own emotional response; where it is congruent this will validate, and potentially amplify, personal emotional responses, whereas, if it is incongruent this will lead to re-evaluation of one's own response (Manstead & Fischer, 2001).

Research shows increased emotional responses and behaviour in the presence of others (Parkinson, 1996) and the use of social appraisal in everyday decision-making (such as opting into a pension scheme or commencing a diet) where the feelings of a co-present other was taken into account and became calibrated between dyads (Parkinson & Simons, 2009). Further, "social appraisal involves arriving at a personal appraisal after factoring in information about another person's orientation to what is happening" (Parkinson, 2020, p. 126). To be able to appraise emotion we need to be motivated to do so and such motivation is often to gain practical and normative social information, or both, to inform personal response (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; Parkinson, 2020). Shared cultural knowledge is important in contextualising and making sense of personal emotional response and the emotion perceived in others or, at the very least, perceived as personally relevant in others (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Manstead & Fischer, 2001).

In laboratory settings, social appraisal has been shown to amplify emotions in the presence of others (Manstead & Fischer, 2001), as well as, theorised to interact with affective transfer processes such as emotional contagion (Barsade & Gibson, 2007; 2012). Evaluation of co-present others' emotion, allowing the appropriateness of personal emotion to be determined, can lead to the convergence of emotion across a group (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; Parkinson, 2020; van Kleef & Fischer, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Consequently, co-ordinated behaviours and responses of group members can lead to converging shared emotions or emotional synchronicity which are essential in collective emotion (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Appraisal of emotion in others does not automatically lead to collective or shared group emotion because, beyond a recognition of similar emotion in others, there is no association with feelings of togetherness (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019; Trigg, 2020) or a sense of affective response being 'ours' as a result of emotions being shared (León & Zahavi, 2018). Rather, "group emotions often arise from the sense of shared identity and collective efficacy that emerges when interacting individuals are commonly oriented to temporally structured activities in a shared space" (Parkinson, 2020, p. 122).

Critiques of social appraisal are that it is a cognitive appraisal account of emotion which reduces emotion to an individual experience of meaning-making (Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). Reliant either on understanding the perceived emotion in another or a shared belief of what the behaviour, of another individual or group, signifies in order to calibrate a response. It becomes an evaluative reasoning process rather than a 'felt evaluation' (Helm, 2002; 2020). Another criticism is that expressions and behaviour can be deceptive leading an individual to the incorrect

perception of emotion in others (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016). For example, seeing tearful families “gathered at the Coroner’s Court to hear the results of the Inquests on the 96 victims of the [Hillsborough] disaster” (Cronin, 2017, p. 257; Marshall, 2016) could be understood as collective grief or happiness (Gracanin, Bylsma, & Vingerhoets, 2018; Hendriks, Croon, & Vingerhoets, 2008). Alternatively, observing displays of collective pride, at a sports team victory, could be seen as signs of joy or aggression (Salmela, 2014b).

Social appraisal’s reliance on cognitive evaluation of another’s behaviour or action means that it requires there to be a common understanding of a situation and for there to be established emotion norms to respond appropriately. Also, group members are presumed to experience the same ‘static’ emotions which can restrict these processes to a particular duration (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; van Kleef & Fischer, 2016). What it does not consider is the influence of being part of a collective, how this shapes perception of emotion in others and the experiencing of affect and its translation and expression as felt, embodied emotion (Thonhauser, 2020). As will be discussed below, an important feature of social appraisal approaches is that they are inclusive bottom-up approaches that acknowledge the role of top-down influences, such as social and cultural factors, on group emotion rather than isolating them from one another (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

Undifferentiated Group Emotion

As highlighted in the thesis introduction, a consistent limitation across theorisations and empirical research of collective emotion is that it is often conflated with, or indistinguishable from, group-based emotion. Group-based emotion “does

not require any synchronization of affective experience, it does not require a plurality of participants, and it does not require an awareness of such plurality or a sense of togetherness" (Thonhauser, 2020, p. 213). Social interaction and co-presence are unnecessary, only self-identification with a group and agreement, or emotional average, between group members (Salmela, 2014a; Thonhauser, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). On the other hand, "collective emotions involve coordinated group-based affects in the actual or strongly implied co-presence of other people" (Sullivan, 2018, p. 2) where emotion is synchronised due to a joint focus of attention (Salmela, 2014a; Thonhauser, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Group-based emotions are individual-level reports of emotion resulting from identifying with a collective and therefore conceptually different to collective emotions where attention needs to be paid to emotion displayed *by* the collective acting *as a group* (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014). Further, it has been suggested that because collective level feeling is experienced as 'ours' (León & Zahavi, 2018) it is expressed in terms of 'we' rather than individual 'I' feeling (Salmela, 2012; Tuomela, 2013) which cannot be captured successfully by investigation of individual feelings and averaging responses across a group (Sullivan, 2015).

Social identity-based research posits that emotion can be shared by group members because they consider themselves a 'psychological crowd' with shared values, beliefs and emotions (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020; Reicher, 2011). Group membership is deemed as central in the formation of group normative behaviours with shared group emotion being proposed as the facilitator of group cohesion, feelings of solidarity, commitment to the group and motivator of group action (Mackie & Smith, 2017). Event-appraisal has also been shown to be based in group membership; reported emotions change according to group membership and

priming of group-emotion norms can induce in-group members to adopt similar emotions, particularly where group identification is high (Yzerbyt & Kuppens, 2009). Strength of group membership has been suggested as essential in collective emotion with studies finding significantly higher, comparable emotion reported for group-relevant events by those who hold stronger identification with a group (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2006; Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). Research, particularly on crowd psychology, has generated a wealth of knowledge that offers explanations of togetherness, group affect and safety behaviour in relation to group processes contingent on shared identity (for example, societal responses to a global pandemic (Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2020)) but there is a need to understand emotional appraisal in crowds and large gatherings where normative behaviours are disrupted by situational and relational factors (Templeton, 2021).

Outside of social identity theory research, concepts of the in-group and out-group have been demonstrated as important to group emotion because aspects such as “race, class, and gender, unlike many other forms of social differentiation, inherently involve affective processes of othering that go hand in hand with relational modes of address, distinction, and valuation” (Slaby & von Scheve, 2019, p. 3). Social collectives affectively respond to events, remembered and present, in different ways because their shared response is informed by their collective and social memory; those events that are relevant to their identity will evoke emotion whereas those that are irrelevant events would not (Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009; Wertsch, 2009; Wetherell, Smith, & Campbell, 2018). As mentioned earlier in the review, Hutchison (2016) identified how the threat of terrorism to national identity was drawn upon after the Bali bombings to narrate, promote and elicit appropriate feelings; this

can be by the media, group leaders or other group members. Other research concluded that the media was a “conduit for national mourning” (Theunissen & Mersham, 2011, p. 421) who relay and reinforce social norms of emotional expression in response to tragedy which unifies a community by reflecting on and re-establishing a national identity.

Studies on pride and sports events provide an insight into how collective pride can be manufactured through targeted media narratives. Analysis of videos broadcast at a German football match found the ritual creation of an 'us' and 'them' that could elicit team pride and national feeling, for the in-group, and reinforce negative beliefs about the away team (Ismer, 2014). Similarly, Kühn (2014) demonstrated that media narratives promoted pride as an important aspect of national identity when Brazil was chosen to host the 2014 FIFA World Cup. However, in response to Brazil being chosen, there were also large-scale protests and civil unrest, during 2013, where national pride was described as being the 'force' behind the collective action taken; a defence against authorities that were deemed unpatriotic and not acting in the best interest of the country (Kühn, 2014).

The use of established groups in the majority of collective and group emotion research reinforces the primacy of group membership over relational properties of group emotion. For example, members of white supremacist groups would be presumed to be involved because they hold shared values, beliefs and emotions. In contrast, research has found that, for some, while they were intially drawn to the group for this reason their continued active involvement belied disagreement with group ideology and behaviour; instead, over time, the group became a space to explore other aspects of an identity either as a result of inertia (Latif, Blee, DeMichele, & Simi, 2018) or a continued sense of belonging (Jasper, 2011). Most of

the literature included in this review focusses on collectives and groups comprised of well-established identities organised around a central politically-motivated issue or stance, religious or sports groups and national or cultural identities. However, research mapping emotion in social networks has demonstrated that, while group membership can provide cognitive categories for people to identify with, this does not reflect the complexity of interactions in reality. Social exchanges are found to overlap between groups and people rather than being isolated within rigid group structures (Fowler & Christakis, 2008; van der Löwe & Parkinson, 2014). Therefore, developing conceptualisations of group emotion that prioritise group membership, using homogenous populations, leads to confirmation bias (Nickerson, 1998) that shared emotion is more likely where group affiliation is stronger (Gammerl, Hutta, & Scheer, 2017; von Scheve, 2011). This confounds any ability to delineate group-based and collective emotion thereby offering no insight into assemblages of less homogenous collectives (Salmela, 2014a; Thonhauser, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). This is a gap in the literature that inspired the research objective to investigate group and collective emotion in more heterogeneous groups in public assemblage.

Integrative Theories of Collective Emotion

Collective and group emotion have been established as social phenomenon that are essential in the creation, maintenance and facilitation of social formations such as groups, communities and nations. However, there is a focus on understanding what emotion does *for* groups and individuals rather than how it is done *by* groups and individuals. Integrated theories of collective emotion, such as those developed by von Scheve and Ismer (2013) and Menges & Kilduff (2015),

recognise these are not mutually exclusive concepts and advocate that they not be studied in isolation. This next section will evaluate these theories and their appropriateness in addressing the research objectives of this thesis.

The first theory to be considered is von Scheve & Ismer's (2013) which proposed "an understanding of collective emotions as the *synchronous convergence in affective responding* across individuals towards a specific event or object" (p. 406). Their review of collective emotion theory, including associated concepts such as collective effervescence (Durkheim, 1912) and intergroup emotion theory (Mackie & Smith, 1998), demonstrated how many existing approaches to group emotion either focus on the macro-level, top-down process or micro-level, bottom-up process; for example social and cultural factors (top-down) or aspects such as affective transfer processes (bottom-up). They argue that this has led to the development of theories that are not sufficient to explain occurrences of collective emotion and advocate for

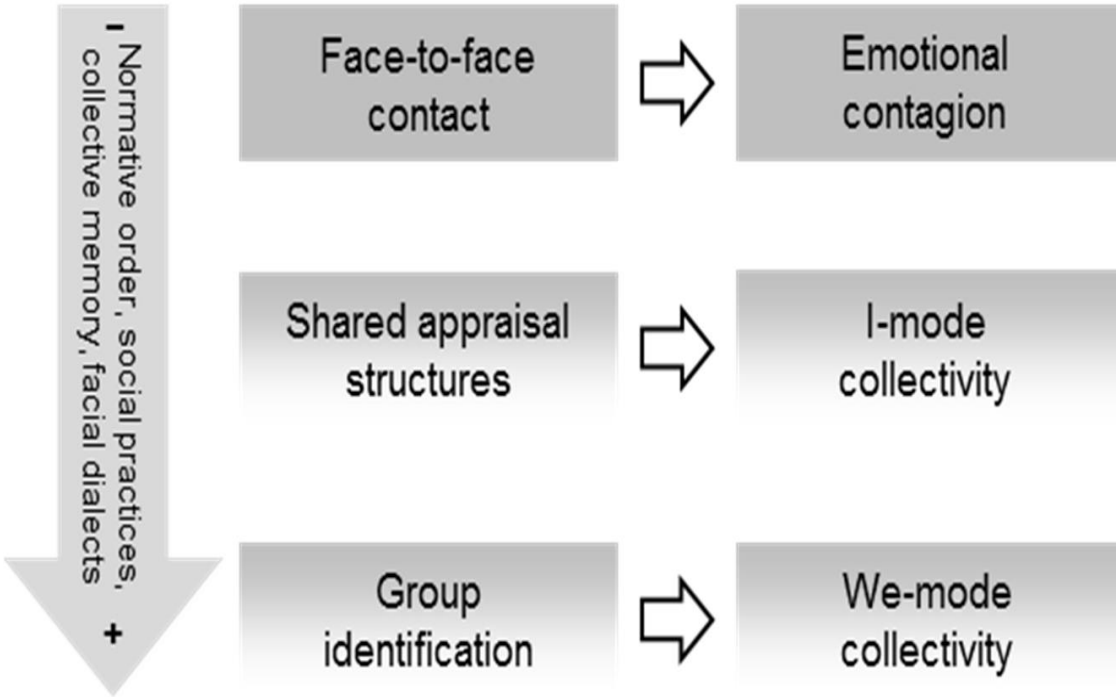


Figure 1.1 *Collective Emotion Processes Schematic (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013)*

the use of a bottom-up, social appraisal model as this integrates theory from across disciplines and levels of analysis (see Fig 1.1).

Their model identifies culturally-specific, micro-level processes, such as shared emotion through facial expressions, as mechanisms that promote in-group emotional contagion. In combination with socially shared cognitive appraisal structures there will be “I-mode” emotional convergence: while there may be agreement or similarity between individuals they are not bound by a sense of committed agreement as a group and emotions are experienced as ‘mine’ rather than ‘ours’. Further, where such appraisals and emotional contagion are based in shared collective intention and group membership full ‘we-mode’ and collective emotion will emerge. Bringing these bottom-up processes together, and influencing each in various ways, are macro-level social and cultural influences such as social practices and collective memory processes which inform collective emotional behaviour and experience. As the authors explain, “for collective emotions to emerge, individuals have to appraise an event in similar ways, which in turn requires a minimum of shared appraisal structures or shared concerns and leads to convergence in emotional responding” (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013, p. 411). Resulting collective emotions require similar socialisation and group membership to achieve the full ‘we-mode’ as described by other philosophical and theoretical analyses (for example Sullivan (2018)).

This is a more effective and efficient process with established groups as a result of the “Matthew-effect’ of collective emotion whereby groups that will benefit most from collective emotion are those that “are already close-knit, cohesive, and exhibit a high degree of shared cognitive components of emotion elicitation” (von Scheve, 2011, p. 77). As highlighted by the authors, a focus on bottom-up

processes, such as emotional contagion, social appraisal and strength of group identification, is consistent with methodological individualism. This tendency to privilege the individual over the collective by situating explanations of social phenomena in individuals is both reductive and misleading; the critical social and relational aspects of emotion must also be acknowledged to provide a more complete picture of collective and group-based emotions. Instead, their theory attempts to avoid this by advocating for research to start from this level whilst incorporating top-down processes and considering how they are interlinked and influence one another (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

An alternative theory of collective emotion, proposed by Menges and Kilduff (2015), takes an approach that focuses on the group level and does not prioritise individual and micro-level processes or cultural and macro-level processes. Their dynamic feedback model draws together a variety of theories of group emotion from across disciplines and categorises them in way that provides specific dimensions of 'group-shared emotion' (see Fig 1.2). Inclination (affective disposition) and interactional processes were ascribed to organisational scholars, institutionalisation with sociologists and identification to psychologists. As with von Scheve & Ismer's (2013) model, co-presence, synchrony of attention, and social interaction among group members is required to achieve 'group-shared emotion' (which the authors also refer to as collective emotion). Their thorough synthesis of the literature enabled them to create a schematic of how these processes fit together, where they connect and how they interact. From this the research process can be more easily mapped out and investigated as their model provides a guide to a sequence of processes within collective emotion.

Both models attribute the manifestation of collective emotion to a variety of dimensions with top-down and bottom-up processes being unified to demonstrate their connections. Where they differ is that Menges and Kilduff (2015) have retained a rigid separation between disciplines and processes. For example, the model suggests no interaction between institutionalisation and identification, and overlap seems not have been considered. Their use of a feedback model without a defined starting point avoids analysis in terms of simplistic linear chains of events and allows for fluidity and various influential factors to be considered and accounted for. Unfortunately, their model retains and reinforces the central role of group membership in group shared, or collective, emotion (Menges & Kilduff, 2015). Thereby reducing emotions to a set of group-specific feeling rules or norms which suggests collective emotions are static and uniform across the group (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016; Salmela, 2014a).

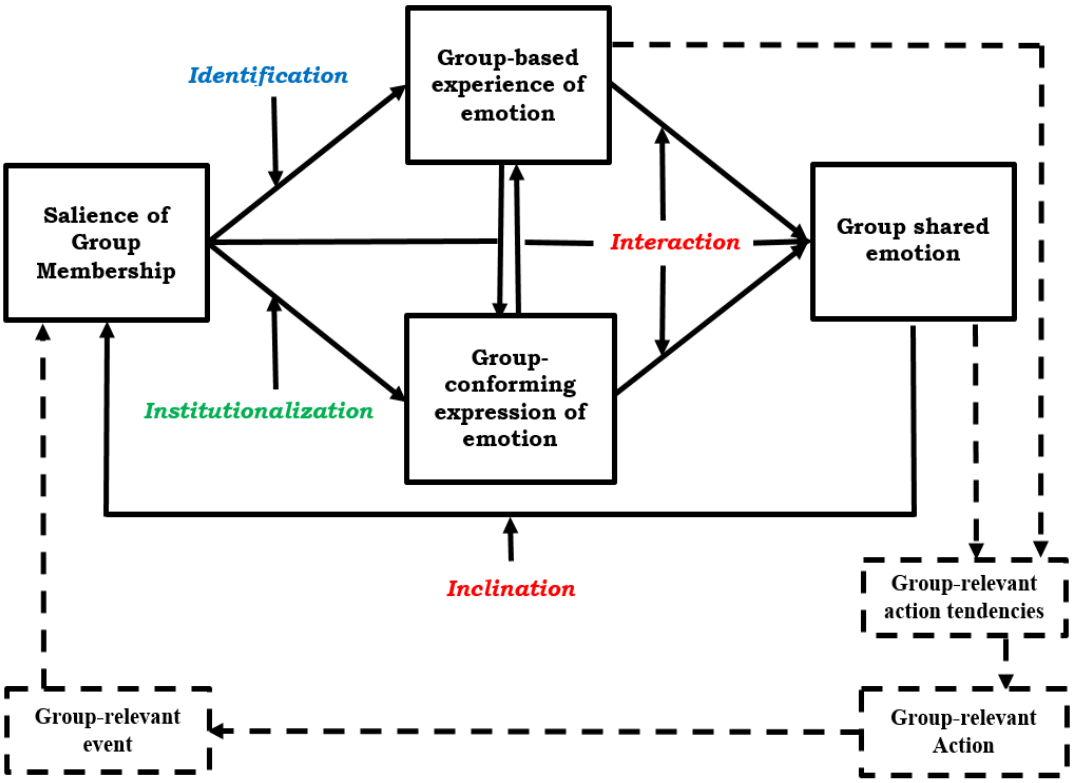


Figure 1.2 *Group Shared Emotion Model (Menges & Kilduff, 2015)*

As theoretical models unify existing theories they draw on various conceptualisations and methodologies utilised in the study of group and collective emotion. Therefore, they do not aim to offer guidelines on the most appropriate methods to research the various dimensions, however, they can provide an invaluable initial guiding framework for this thesis[1] because it is the "interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena" (Jabareen, 2009, p. 2). Importantly, emotional practices cannot be understood if they are studied as decontextualized phenomena; emotions are responses to an object in the present as well as the broader issue or environment and should always be considered as interrelated (Szanto & Slaby, 2020). The complexity of emotion and affect is embraced by these theories of collective emotion rather than simply strength of group membership. However, they do emphasise the role of individual cognition in collective emotion either as a result of identification with a group being advantageous (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) or pre-requisite (Menges & Kilduff, 2015). This parallels the methodological individualism inherent to group-based emotion "whereas collective emotions refer to the collective as the entity that experiences the emotion" (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014, p. 2). While it is not the intention of this thesis to assert social collectives are distinct entities, with a sense of self or consciousness (Gebauer, 2014), the point emphasises the importance of looking to the collective rather than the individual in understanding collective emotion. Furthermore, echoing limitations raised for social appraisal, the role of being part of a collective does not feature in these theories; the state of *being*

[1] A third alternative theory of collective emotion was initially considered to inform the theoretical framework (Goldenberg, Garcia, Suri, Halperin, & Gross, 2017) but was, unfortunately, unpublished. A much revised and edited version has since been successfully published (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020) but was not utilised within the framework.

in a collective is essential but how this collective shapes the perception and experience of emotion and affect and expression is left implicit (Thonhauser, 2020).

Summary

Synthesising the extant literature has begun to address the first research objective to refine and develop existing theory and research. In addition, this review and appraisal of the existing literature on group and collective emotion highlights potential starting points for the research being undertaken in this thesis. Shared group membership was identified as a source of strength and limitation for accounts of emotions that occur as a result of the behaviour and actions of collectives. Furthermore, the tendency for research to focus on established, homogenous groups upheld the requisite of shared group membership in group emotion which prevented the differentiation of collective and group-based emotion. Having established the context to the broad topic of investigation (i.e. collective emotion) the next chapter will explore specific features and properties in more detail to illustrate the development of the theoretical framework and research questions for the thesis.

Chapter 2 : A Theory of Dynamic Foreground-Background Interconnectivity in Collective Emotions

Building on the preceding chapter, which had identified gaps in the extant literature, this chapter will clarify the concepts that will be used in proposing a new theoretical framework for researching group affect and emotion. Existing approaches in the study of group emotion will be brought together and situated in a multi-level analysis framework of collective emotion inspired by von Scheve and Ismer (2013). While connections will be made between theories of group and collective emotion there are also connections made to theories of collective memory. The goal is to demonstrate how these elements can assist in this research and will inform the methodology and choice of methodological techniques (discussed in Chapter 3). The starting concepts for the proposed theoretical framework are discussed in terms of background and foreground approaches; including, but not limited to, emotional habitus (Gould, 2009) and affective practice (Wetherell, 2012), respectively. These theories embrace the complexity of affect and emotion, albeit from different perspectives, and acknowledge that these are not isolated from one another. Alongside these the approach of 'affective arrangements' (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019a) affords insight into non-human influences on collective emotion. Finally, a broad notion of 'togetherness' encapsulates collective aspects of cognitive and embodied features of affectivity in social collectives.

In developing a new framework the aim was to create an alternative to integrated models of collective emotion (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) which relied on shared group membership (see Chapter 1). Instead of presuming the composition of a social collective, thereby confirming rather than challenging the primacy of shared group membership, this research was concerned

with SJEs involving groups and collectives at various stages in their formation. This will allow for clarity regarding collective and group-based emotion which, whilst not mutually exclusive and sharing similarities, are qualitatively and conceptually different (Sullivan, 2015). Consequently, the combination and development of existing concepts of emotion and affect will be useful because like "artistic concepts – for example, different shots in cinema (close-ups, long shots, jumpcuts etc.) – they are not only ways to look at things, but also ways to make things seen. …intensifying elements and characteristics of a given domain" (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019b, p. 30). As will be demonstrated in this chapter, this approach can also help to create theories and specific models from which research questions can be addressed through empirical research

A Perspective of Collective Emotion

Through evaluation of the existing theories of group and collective emotion Chapter 1 revealed a tendency to conceive emotion as a part of a causal social process. The current research does not intend to argue against this. However, group emotion should not be reduced to socially conditioned and biological responses (Gammerl, 2012; Menges & Kilduff, 2015; Mühlhoff, 2019; Wetherell, 2012) or simply regarded as an outcome or by-product of socially interacting with others, gathering together or identification with a group (Mühlhoff, 2019; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Nor should emotion and affect be primarily considered as amorphous entities that bodies encounter within the social world as it circulates between them (Bially Mattern, 2011; Wetherell, 2012; 2013; Wiesse, 2019). Each conceptualisation can play a role in the manifestation of collective emotion but on their own they are

not sufficient for a coherent and robust theoretical explanation of collective emotion. Consequently, their interconnectedness will be explored throughout this research.

As will be demonstrated below, it is possible to consider emotion and affect in a similar way to how one would an image; structured as they are by the layers of foreground, middleground and background (see Fig 2.1). Each layer can be taken in isolation, however, perspective and depth would be lost resulting in a flat and two-dimensional understanding of its composition. Similarly, much of the emotion research literature concentrates on either top-down or bottom-up processes to explain how and why emotion manifests in the reactions or agentic behaviour of groups and collectives (Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) thereby overlooking the nuances and complexities of emotion and affect (Wetherell, 2013). Further, many approaches often locate emotion and affect as being within, experienced by or between individual bodies, thereby resisting, or even negating, affect and emotion as a social or collective phenomenon (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). As will be explored in the following sections, the idea of emotion being influential as background and foreground elements of social interaction is not new. Theories and research appraised below often focus their efforts to understand how it is one or the other. In a few examples, however, consideration is given to how emotion can transcend levels of analysis in shaping the expression and sense made of emotions by social collectives.

Background Collective Emotion and Habitus

Background emotions, like moods, have been described as enduring, unfocussed states that are often non-conscious and lack intentionality (Jasper, 2011; Nussbaum, 2001) however their encompassing, persistent nature acts as an

affective backdrop that helps people navigate the world (Varga & Krueger, 2013). Importantly, “background feelings are not just related to an anonymous world, but to the world that we share with others, or to the interpersonal world” (Fuchs, 2013, p. 616). They dispose people to patterns of behaviour (Nussbaum, 2001) and open up, or limit, one’s sense of possibility and belonging in the world (Ratcliffe, 2008; 2012). Correspondingly, emotion and affect have been suggested to create a *habitus* that individuals and collectives occupy which shapes perception of the world, social practices and the possibilities for action. The concept of *emotional habitus* builds on Bourdieu’s (1977; 1990) notion of habitus where understandings or schemas of how to act, on cognitive and embodied levels, are socially constituted and experienced as being second nature. As with the conceptualisation of background emotion, individuals are disposed to experience and express particular emotions in certain situations as a result of the language and practices their culture has provided them with (Burkitt, 1997; 1999). Correspondingly, historical examples of group action, being motivated to act or shamed into inaction, is informed by emotionally situational and historical context that serves to structure the emotional habitus of a collective (Kane, 2001).

The role of historical context and culture has been captured in the literature of collective memory. First conceptualised by Halbwachs ([1926] 1950) who proposed individuals as agents who can remember but did not own ‘personal’ memories because all memory is shaped, organized and provided meaning by social groups (Misztal, 2003a). This extended Durkheim’s theory that solidarity is generated and revitalised by the creation and consolidation of group identities, situated in social history, through activities such as ritual, ceremony and commemoration (Misztal, 2003b; Narvaez, 2006). Collective memory has been theorised to be a body of

shared knowledge, distinct from collective remembering, which is the practice of reflecting on and reconstructing shared memory (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008; Wertsch, 2009). Alternatively, some scholars contend that there can be no memory without remembering and therefore it is always as interactive process (de Saint-Laurent, 2018). Either way, for an event to become a collective memory it must be identity-relevant and therefore involves a motivation to remember, or forget, an event as a collective (Hirst & Manier, 2008; Stone & Jay, 2019). Although collective memory remains an ill-defined and contested concept there is agreement that it refers to memory as a social phenomenon, irreducible to individuals, that is entwined with group identities which are situated in their own social histories (Hirst & Manier, 2008; Stone & Jay, 2019; Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008).

Collective memory is not simply the glorification of the past and group nostalgia rather it is the reframing of the past in ways that are beneficial in justifying a particular perception of the present (de Saint-Laurent, 2018). For example, research utilising emotional habitus and social history considered mobilisation strategies of animal rights activists who appropriated and subverted familiar visual images in popular culture; these were “commonly shared visual rhetoric such as historical events, religious figures and cultural icons” (Sin, 2009, p. 109). As these images were symbols imbued with culturally relevant emotion the repurposing of the original messages prompted the viewing public to critically reflect on their meaning. This was concluded by Sin to be a successful method of disrupting the emotional habitus of the public that demonstrates how emotions can be utilised to persuade, or manipulate, groups and individuals and incite them to action. Scholars, such as Wetherell (2012), propose that “affective performance bears a complex relation to our past affective practice and relational history” (p. 129) whereby the practice of

affect and emotion, on individual and collective levels, is sedimented and solidified over time. Emotion is not expressed as a result of subconscious, habituated routines but will be shaped by “a mix of past personal and cultural meanings carried forward and meshed with the present relational circumstances” (p. 153). Expression and practice of emotion and affect are a form of informed agency and there should be a focus on how they are acquired and carried forward from the past to then contextualise practice in the present (Wetherell, 2012).

Gould’s (2009) work on social mobilisation around the HIV crisis further developed the concept of emotional habitus. Rather than only focussing on how social mobilisation could be initiated she looked at the development of the emotional habitus of a mobilised collective, HIV activists, over time because “a social group’s emotional habitus structures what members feel and how they emote” (p. 34). Central to her research was the role of social practices and relations in the shaping of emotional habitus and the political horizons, or possibilities for collective action, available to a group. The emotional habitus then disposes the group members to particular practices, on individual and collective levels, that can be utilised in political action. Importantly, these are not conceptualised as ongoing steps that lead on from one another whereby social practices create an emotional habitus which pre-determines the social practices that then create *another* emotional habitus. They are interdependent processes where emotional habitus “encapsulates a dialectical relationship between structure and practice: they make, unmake and remake one another” (p. 33). In the context of HIV activism, complex and dynamic emotions were fundamental in “the emergence, development and decline of the direct-action AIDS movement” (p. 439) as activists navigated ambivalence about themselves, their group and society, as well as, grief at the death of thousands of members of their

community and anger at the disregard shown by society and the establishment (Gould, 2009).

Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been critiqued for its failure to account for emotion acting to generate change; conceptualising emotion as pre-determined and unconscious removes agency and the conscious self-modulation of emotion in social relations (Wetherell, 2012). Similarly, Gould's (2009) conceptualisation of emotional habitus has been described as linked "rather one-sidedly with the body and the non-conscious" (Gammerl, 2012, p. 163). However, while her work may favour an anti-constructivist position on affect, she does contend that it is both stable and malleable; able to be simultaneously non-conscious and planned because individuals and collectives are able to foreground, or promote, emotion and their associated schema within a particular habitus (Gould, 2009). Another criticism levelled at habitus analyses, but equally applicable to emotional habitus, is about plurality. Tied as habitus is to social groups and categories, such concepts seem ill-equipped to handle multiple, intersecting identities where there could be overlapping, possibly conflicting, emotional habitus with an array of individual and collective practices to draw on; one only need consider the multiplicity of processes involved in the circulations of affect "in consulting rooms, parliamentary committees, football stadiums or in the message boards of the Internet" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 142). Wetherell highlights the shaping and sedimentation of embodied and discursive affective practices of power by individual and collective histories, modes of affective transmission and the situational context. Similarly, while Gould's work does favour a macro-level of analysis, it does not shy away from the ambiguity or expansiveness of emotion or affect; the intricacy of analysis shows why it is important to embrace them

and demonstrates how flexible approaches should, and can, be by moving across various levels of analysis (Gould, 2009).

As claimed in Gould's research, the callous and disinterested response to the HIV crisis was the practice of the "vehement homo-hatred that structured state and societal responses to the crisis" (p. 256). These were committed, affect-laden collective values, associated with past and present group identity, that were enacted through policies that vilified the LGBTQ+ community; which in turn created, or added to, a collective trauma for LGBTQ+ people. Collective memory, including trauma, informs the social practices available to a group which can then become sedimented and constitutive of their collective emotional habitus. Narratives constructed around disasters can promote and (re)create a shared past identity in the present to evoke collective emotions as demonstrated in research discussed earlier concerned with the Bali bombings (Hutchison, 2016), the 9/11 World Trade Centre bombings and Yugoslavian war (Ross, 2014). Correspondingly, "studying emotion in the context of collective memory is likely to afford a greater understanding of emotion" (Lambert, Scherer, Rogers, & Jacoby, 2009, p. 213) and the influence it can have on social practice at individual and collective levels. Criticisms aside, what emotional habitus offers to this theoretical framework is an intricate and encompassing perspective on the emotional dynamics and affective dimensions of political life. The emphasis on the socially embedded nature of emotion, instead of locating it solely within individual bodies, is also important in understanding how and why individuals coalesce around an issue and respond as a collective (Calhoun, 2001).

Foreground Emotions and Social Practice

An equally important facet of the concept of emotion as an image is the foreground. As shown in Fig 2.1, this translates to emotion being associated with concepts of emotion and feeling which are more often conscious, intentional and temporary phenomena that are situation-specific and shaped by background emotions (Jasper, 2011; Nussbaum, 2001). The relationality of affect is important when considering emotion as an expressive social practice where “emotional ways-of-being become socially intelligible as bodies competently perform the techniques that bring them into being” (Bially Mattern, 2011, p. 77). Further, social practices, such as ceremonies, are socially negotiated acts of past identity that are performed for oneself and others (Connerton, 1989; de Saint-Laurent, 2018). These social acts have been investigated in a social movement setting where collective identity was shown to be reinforced, maintained and constrained through conscious and non-conscious practices of past identity in the present (Gongaware, 2010).

Collective memory, tied as it is to collective identity, is not a neutral resource that people draw on to inform the present. Such memory is infused with emotion(s) brought into the present where the embodiment of past affect and identity in the present revitalises emotion, elicits social sharing and preserves the values, identity and social history of a group (Misztal, 2003b). Within this, collective or cultural trauma can play an important role in the development of background emotions associated with a collective identity (Alexander, 2012). Commemoration of such events affirms shared historical experience and identity which strengthens affective ties between group members, as well as, reinforcing feelings of solidarity and existential security (Alexander, 2012; Demertzis & Eyerman, 2020; McCreanor,

Wetherell, McConville, Moewaka Barnes, & Moewaka Barnes, 2019; Wetherell, 2014).

Culture and shared knowledge act to provide background and context to the potential affective practices that can be employed in the present (for example, foregrounded in group-based emotions or mobilized by leaders). Such a view of emotion as a social practice is taken up in Wetherell's (2012) notion of affective practices which offers a real-world focus on the emotional as it appears in social life. This approach follows how people express affect through the performance of emotional language and the embodiment of affect within social interaction. In essence, it sees discourse, embodiment and cognition as inseparable and, in a similar way to emotional habitus, affect and emotion are located in social practices and relations. Practice is accepted as being socially constituted and informed by top-down processes but, in contrast to Gould's (2009) emotional habitus, the notion of them as being pre-determined by the past and non-conscious is rejected.

Affective practices are active, embodied social actions within "a multi-layered process in which body/brain processes intertwine with personal histories, discourses and culturally available ways of making sense, and intertwine also with larger-scale social histories and the material organisation of spaces and contexts" (McConville, Wetherell, McCreanor, & Moewaka Barnes, 2014, p. 128). Conceptualising affect as embodied, public and processual means affective practices always involve the self and others with an acknowledgement of past and future practice. In other words, "affect as ongoing practical accomplishment" (Wiesse, 2019, p. 132) where emotion happens across levels of analysis as they are simultaneously public and private (Bially Mattern, 2011). For example, national events, such as Anzac Day in New Zealand, are not simply experiences of bodily sensations that are subsequently

assigned an emotional descriptor; they are influenced by social expectations, personal histories and ideological aspects that together inform how people make sense of their affective experience as a result of practices employed by themselves and others (Wetherell, 2014).

Affective practices can be found in any social situation, from dyads to large groups, (Wetherell, 2012) and is an approach that has been successfully utilised to study social movements over time. For example, a study of demonstrations held by the English Defence League found that there were many participating identities and attendant social practices, observed in the variety of flags and performative dress, however “chanting and singing are well-developed affective practices” (Pilkington, 2016, p. 195). The consensus in the form and content of chants and songs helped express, share and consolidate emotions and commitment to the group which enhances solidarity and strengthens affective bonds (Pilkington, 2016). Similarly, the affective practices framework has been used as a conceptual lens by Ransan-Cooper and colleagues (2018) to investigate opposition of coal seam gas in Australia. They concluded that while anger was a catalyst to mobilisation this was insufficient to sustain collective action and that the conscious management of emotion as a social practice within interaction was “key to building solidarity across difference” (Ransan-Cooper, Ercan, & Duus, 2018, p. 651).

Other large groups that have been researched, with a focus on embodiment and social practices, are those of mass celebration at sports events. A study of the convergence of national feeling at an international event, the South African FIFA world cup, conducted by Sullivan (2018) found support for the event, and the home team, was created in advance through top-down and bottom-up practices that reinforced national identity and a desire to conform to expectations associated with

these “real” and “important” group interests. This “collective pride helped to organize accounts of group euphoria and excitement as well as feelings (rather than mere perceptions or appraisals) of unity and solidarity” (p. 17). Reflecting on his positionality as an outsider, and despite his shared interest in football, the author also highlighted how shared goals and cultural knowledge was important to be able to fully appreciate the embodiment of emotion, the affective practices employed and the intensity of the collective affect generated.

In a very similar vein, a study of football fans at a game demonstrated that “togetherness in a collective is bound to situation-specific circumstances” (Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019, p. 234) resulting from the sharing of emotion; in this case, to express collective jubilation when a goal was scored, through embodied, interactive and collaborative forms of behaviour. While they do not explicitly draw on the affective practice concept these conclusions agree on the need to combine the discursive, embodied and cognitive notions of affect in their practical, embodied and situated details rather than their separation. Unlike Wetherell (2012), who largely supports a social identity analysis of these situations because it can be “revelatory to try to line up identity, affect and social location” (p. 119), they contend that group-identification is a result of, rather than a precursor to, embodied knowledge and complex social and affective processes (Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019).

Including an affective practices approach in the theoretical framework for this thesis means that the embodiment of emotion is not simply considered a biological response to a stimulus or the practice of habituated behaviours (Wetherell, 2012; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). The situating of affect and emotion “in actual bodies and social actors” (Wetherell, 2012, p. 159) by investigating the “intertwining of discourse, affect and practices” (Sullivan, 2015, p. 386) leads to a concern that

anything beyond micro-level analysis would only be acknowledged and remain unexplored in any depth (Baker, 2019). However, there is an emphasis on how social and individual histories are drawn on to make sense of the practicing of affect (McConville, Wetherell, McCreanor, & Moewaka Barnes, 2014; Wetherell, 2012) which complements the use of Gould's (2009) concept of emotional habitus. Investigating these concepts as background and foreground elements in collective emotion means that attention will be paid to socially embedded practice that is shaped, but not pre-determined, by culture. From this, insights can be gained into how social collectives relate to time, disrupt traditional practices and "how collective pasts become sedimented in individual and 'collective bodies', so that the past thus becomes vivified in shared presents" (Narvaez, 2006, p. 52).

Affect as a Middleground

Proposing emotional habitus and affective practice as approaches that can be used in tandem to explore foreground and background emotion may seem problematic because they are conceptually dissimilar. One takes its starting point to be human bodies as affective objects where the other begins with them as being subjected to affect. Where affective practice is concerned with the doing of emotion, whilst acknowledging individual and collective histories or contexts (Wetherell, 2012; Wiesse, 2019), emotional habitus is concerned with how affect brings people together as an emotional, and emoting, collective (Calhoun, 2001; Gould, 2009). In both approaches, it is participant experience, rather than that of the researcher, that is invaluable because they are both experts in and theorists of their own experience of social, relational and emotional phenomenon (Maxwell, 2013, p. 52). A common central tenet is how people make sense of emotion and affect in order to be able to understand either the practices employed or which political horizons were opened up

to them. More importantly, for the proposed theoretical framework outlined below, where they converge is through affect, the middleground of emotion, and that they are both mindful of micro- and macro-levels of analysis. This leads to them being complementary, as opposed to conflicting, approaches that will offer important insights that would be missed if utilised separately.

The proposed conceptualisation of emotion as being conceivable in a way similar to an image (see Fig 2.1) positions affect as intersecting between foreground and background emotion. Proposing affect as holding a 'middleground', in the bigger picture of emotion, is not implausible as "affect can go entirely unrecognized, but nevertheless can color our thoughts, perceptions, and actions (i.e. without one consciously registering this). Likewise, affect can be at the center of conscious awareness and bodily experience" (von Scheve, 2018, p. 49). While affects are feelings that are not necessarily conscious or unidentified as particular discrete emotions they are capable of becoming them, in some cases, or amounting to feelings that serve to orient an individual within a collective or situation. Furthermore, this middleground also encourages the investigation of 'the bigger picture' which does not seek to constrain emotion to individual bodies or suggest that those bodies are merely non-agentic subjects of it.

This simplified concept of emotion will be used within this thesis whereby affect, as a both conscious and unconscious mode of being (von Scheve, 2018), connects with the foreground and background states of emotion; this is not to suggest that they are distinct but rather that they feed into one another over time. Additionally, emotion is considered a dynamic process where consideration is given to its temporal nature (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016). Collins' (2012) idea of "time-bubbles of nationalism" is useful to mention here because it does offer such a theory;

the intense emotionality generated around mass mobilisation or a major event, such as a national disaster like 9/11, is followed by a period of emotional dispersal. The waning of emotion can be seen in the gradual reduction of social practices associated with the event, such as displays of flags, and it is proposed that time is needed to recharge before such intensity can occur again. Time has not been incorporated into the diagram because it would provide a false impression of the role it plays by oversimplifying it. For example, a directional arrow oriented from past to present, where existential feeling is in the past and emotion in the present, would infer a temporal distance when, in reality, it is expected that they can be experienced simultaneously. Instead, time is a presumed constant that encompasses all and the role that it is understood to play will be explained when it is relevant to the analysis presented.

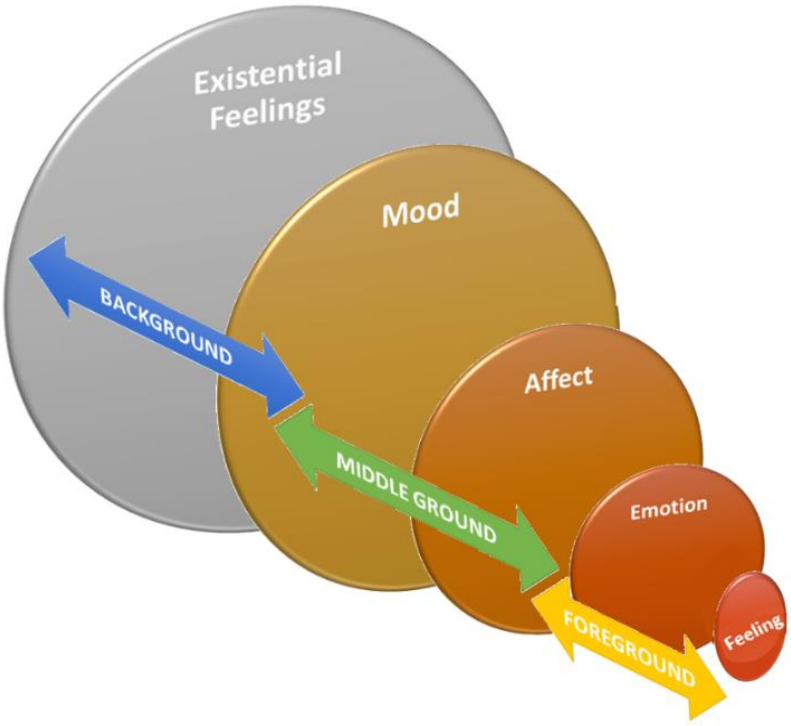


Figure 2.1 *Affect and Emotion Conceptualised as an 'Image'*

‘Grounding’ emotion and affect is a way to bring together time, embodiment and cognition. Foreground is the present, conscious, ‘felt’ emotion. Background is the past, subconscious and ‘remembered’ emotion. Middleground is the overlap where these combine and interact. This is the position of affect because affect is a *mode of being* that is critical to action and “is relational, i.e. that it is not confined to individual bodies but part of the intensities of relations and resonances between bodies” (von Scheve, 2018, p. 47). Past, ‘remembered’ emotion can be felt and embodied in the present in the form of sedimented affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) or identity performance and management (Gongaware, 2010). Emotions in the present are shaped and influenced by the past seeping into the present in conscious, and non-conscious, re-enactments of collective memory and social history (de Saint-Laurent, 2018; Narvaez, 2006).

Similarly, present emotion can be used to consciously re-evaluate, re-shape and re-remember emotions toward the past (Wertsch & Roediger III, 2008; Wertsch, 2009; Wetherell, McConville, & McCreanor, 2019). The proposed conceptualisation of emotion as an ‘image’ works with regard to collective and individual bodies whereby individual bodies can effect, and be effected by, all affective states within each ‘level’ of emotion and collective bodies being able to effect, and be effected by, the background and middleground levels of affect and emotion. Only individuals have conscious, physical bodies that feel and evaluate but they are not separate from social reality (Tuomela, 2007; 2013). How individuals understand what they feel, how they embody and express such feeling, is influenced by social and cultural norms, as well as, their own agency (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

In terms of the theoretical framework for this research, (see Fig 2.2), the relationship of background and foreground approaches to collective emotion,

specified as affective practices and emotional habitus, are depicted by black unidirectional arrows because it is expected that they directly impact its manifestation. There is a bi-directional grey arrow, in the theoretical framework being developed below, between emotional habitus/sedimentation and affective practice because, as this discussion demonstrates, their relationship is considered to be one of reciprocal interdependence.

Affective Arrangements

'Affective arrangements' (Slaby, 2019; Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019a) "is a philosophical concept that aims at bringing out the unique constellation of a particular affect-intensive site of social life" (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019b, p. 37). It is an overarching approach, or methodology, to the study of affect and emotion as social and relational, not specifically a theory of collective or group emotion, that encompasses a variety of affective social phenomena; from circulations of affect and affective practice to atmospheres and collective emotion (see Slaby & von Scheve, 2019; Kahl, 2019). A key aspect is the inclusive nature of this concept whereby "persons, things, artifacts, spaces, discourses, behaviors, expressions or other materials that coalesce into a coordinated formation of mutual *affecting and being-affected*" (Slaby, 2019, p. 109). Where other concepts, such as affective practice, situate emotion in purely human interactions this approach includes non-human objects.

The authors advocate for the analysis of geographical, situational and other perceptibly influential elements when studying affect and emotion. They assert that these elements are crucial in the sense that people make of emotion and understanding how affective phenomena, such as collective emotion, are facilitated

and inhibited (Slaby, 2019; Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019a). It should be noted that this is a concept that could be employed and developed further as a theoretical framework where practice and habitus are constitutive affective arrangements within social life. However, as will be the case here, it is often successfully utilised to restrict "scope to selected dimensions, or focus on different elements of an arrangement sequentially during the research process" (Slaby, 2019, p. 117). Complementing emotional habitus and affective practice approaches, the central dimensions of affective arrangements are that they are social, relational and focussed on affecting, and being affected by, people and environments. For the purpose of this research, it is their assertion that affect is experienced in relation to human and non-human bodies that is salient. Inclusion of interaction with non-human objects furthers the ability of this framework to address the influence of relational factors on affect and emotion at SJEs.

This approach can be used to map and quantify affect within a site of interest (Slaby, 2019) but the broad remit makes it particularly amenable to qualitative investigation because "a given object domain will be described from a unique and potentially even personal angle" (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019b, p. 37). As a consequence, within the developing theoretical framework (see Fig 2.2), affective arrangements are conceptualised as a distinct concept and depicted with a unidirectional arrow towards collective emotion. The non-human objects in the material world, such as physical spaces, are expected to influence collective emotion at the SJEs. While a reciprocal relationship is not depicted it is entirely possible that one exists as places and objects do become imbued with emotion (Collins, 2004) however it is unclear if this happens with collective emotion.

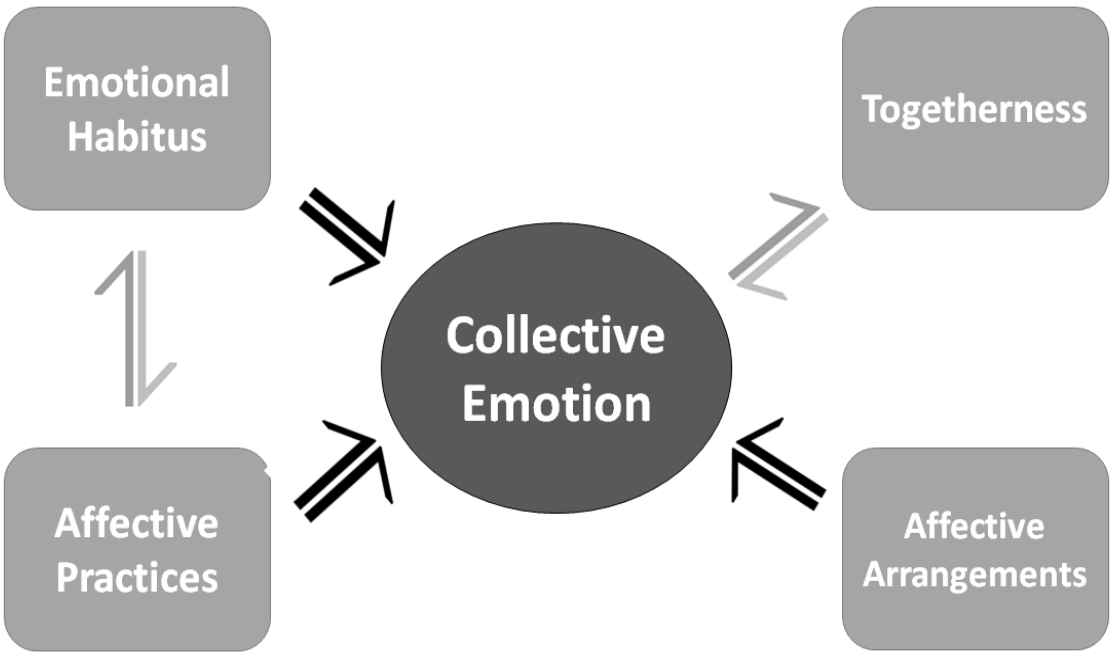


Figure 2.2 *Theorised Factors influencing Collective Emotion*

Togetherness

The final component of the proposed theoretical framework is 'togetherness'; as a term it is often used to describe a state of being intimately close to other people and, particularly in psychology and sociology, equated with notions of family and belonging (Ribbens McCarthy, 2012). For the purpose of this research the term 'togetherness' is being used as an umbrella term to encompasses concepts identified as relevant to the study of group and collective emotion (see previous chapter). Instead of being aligned with only one approach, such as social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982), this allows the research to consider features or aspects such as group membership, shared social identity and collectivity, as well as, the role of physical co-presence.

The conflation of group-based and collective emotion in many social psychological theories and analyses and the need to delineate them in research has been highlighted as problematic. However, the role of group membership as a facilitating, rather than essential, factor is not being dismissed (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Correlations between strength of group membership and heightened (collective) emotions (e.g. Hopkins et al., 2016; Wohl, Giguère, Branscombe, & McVicar, 2011) is seen as a consequence of a focus on groups with an established identity such as sports fans or religious groups. This is not applicable for all social formations as collectives can be pre-established or emergent (von Scheve, 2019). Hypothetically, if one were to consider a large rock music festival it could be presumed that there was a shared identity within the 'alternative music community' or attendees of Christopher Street and Pride parades could be presumed to have an shared identity that aligned with the 'gay community'. Asking research participants to rate how strongly they identify with an LGBTQ+ or alternative identity would generate responses which confirm the existence of these identities and peoples' identification with them, as well as, support for dependent measures (e.g. group emotion). This is problematic because supporting a group does not require identification with it and being assigned as a group member does not necessarily mean endorsement of a group; one may be non-heteronormative without considering themselves part of the 'gay community' (see Chapter 5).

Conceptualising human behaviour in terms of a cognitive shift from personal to social identity, as with social identity theory, describes a process where the group, and associated values, becomes paramount in group-relevant, social situations (Reicher, Stott, Cronin, & Adang, 2004). This is a valuable heuristic in the understanding of group dynamics but it can lead to researchers pre-empting which

group this must be; the aggregation of multiple identities (for example Black and Minority Ethnic; BAME, or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, plus; LGBTQ+); a bias towards a dominant identity; and suggests social interaction to be a binary process that is either about the self or others. This can obscure, even erase, the variety and multiplicity of identities to which individuals can belong (Brown, 2020), as well as, diminish the sense that people, as individuals or collectives, make of a social situation in favour of generalisability. In contrast, Tuomela's (2007; 2013) theory supports the difference between individual and group identification but proposes it as a continuum from individual ('I-mode') to group ('we-mode') collectivity.

The role of emotion in this process is explored by Salmela's (2012) philosophical concept linking collective emotion and collectivity. As can be seen in Fig 2.3, strengthening collective emotion facilitates the transition from 'I-mode' to 'we-mode' which enables the formation, maintenance and development of groups. Importantly, it is proposed as an interdependent process where the shift from individual to collective concerns and commitment also heightens collective emotion. Sharing of affective experiences, intentions and concerns acts to synchronize behaviour and aid collective action. This theory is suitable for the current investigation of collective emotion because, unlike group-based emotion, identity is not given precedence. Instead there is an active relationship between them that assists the research interest in the fluidity of group emotion and the dynamic factors that influence it. Despite this, it was not incorporated into the theoretical framework as a separate dimension because, where appropriate, it will be used in conjunction with other theories of collectivity and group membership.

Figure 2.3 *Graphical Representation of Salmela's (2012) theory*

Another aspect of 'togetherness', which is linked to affective arrangements, is that of co-presence. The convergence of collective emotion is facilitated and heightened by the ability to appraise others, interpersonal relations and being mutually aware of shared emotion and experience (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Close physical proximity has been shown to be more desirable with in-group, rather than out-group, members (Novelli, Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2013; Templeton, Drury, & Philippides, 2018) however the importance of co-presence on group emotion is overshadowed by a focus on group membership. For example, perceived shared identity rather than co-presence was concluded to lead to feelings of connectedness and a more positive experience at different physical crowd events (Neville & Reicher, 2011).

Ethnographic research conducted by Meesuk (2017) addressed the role of co-presence and concluded that collective effervescence was palpable in online posts

responding to the death of the King of Thailand. While mourners did not share physical proximity they shared virtual space and proximity which involved virtual, social interaction and emotion sharing (Meesuk, 2017). More recently, in the wake of the COVID-19 global pandemic and restrictions on physical gatherings, Vandenberg and colleagues (2020) analysed the sharing of emotion in the comments made during an online, livestreamed, dance music event. While authors surmised that "these new rituals achieve a collective awareness between viewers, they appear to have limited strength in generating a powerful collective emotion" (p. 8). Comment chains analysed showed nostalgia for elements of the pre-COVID, co-present experience where there was physical proximity to other bodies. Both studies suggest that ritualised practices of affect and collective emotion can be found in virtual spaces. However, "telecommunications and social media practices, for example, cannot rely on "natural" physical copresence and instead handle reciprocal affecting in a different way" (Wiesse, 2019, p. 137) that will influence the sense made of the collective, and individual, emotional experience as a shared affective encounter.

Collective affective states have been theorised and demonstrated as being the inter-related synchronisation of top-down and bottom-up social processes that are founded in mutual awareness, of a shared state, that promotes a sense of 'we-ness' (Pacherie, 2017; Salmela, 2012; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013; von Scheve, 2018). This framework supports the claim that "understanding of emotions as felt evaluations constituted by intra- and inter-bodily resonance, is better suited to account for the bodily and the cognitive dynamics involved in episodes of social or collective affectivity" (Thonhauser, 2020, p. 222). Synchronisation of emotion, shared focus of attention and co-ordinated behaviour are essential in the manifestation of collective emotion (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Physically being together with

others, subjected to the same affective objects, in the same spaces and locations and at the same time was expected to influence collective emotion as a form of 'affective resonance' (Mühlhoff, 2019). Physical co-presence was also a dimension that directed research design, data collection and analysis so it was necessary to capture this in the framework.

A final, critical element that came under this concept was the requirement to address perceived group homogeneity in the existing research that leads to the conflation of group-based and collective emotion. As potential events to be investigated would need to be comprised of multiple, heterogeneous groups there could not be a reliance on shared group membership or social identity. An element that was expected to still be present in the manifestation of collective emotion was that of 'togetherness'. For these reasons, the relationship between them is expected to be bidirectional, see Fig 2.2, because feelings of solidarity and togetherness, independent of a shared group identity, will result in collective emotion and the increasing strength of this will facilitate the formation of an emergent social collective (Salmela, 2012; von Scheve, 2019).

Research Questions

In order to address the research objectives of this thesis the focus of the proposed research needs to be clear, with regard to populations, and research questions stated. To address many of the gaps identified in the theoretical and empirical literature, large-scale SJEs were chosen as an appropriate site of study because such demonstrations are comprised of collectives of people from varied backgrounds gathered in a physical assemblage to protest about social issues that impact wider society (for example the 2003 demonstrations in the UK against the

Iraq War). Moreover, SJEs often seek to disrupt and repurpose existing public spaces in order to command attention to their cause thereby moving the research into spaces that are not preconfigured to specifically facilitate the convergence of group emotion (i.e. in contrast to the sports stadiums or places of worship that feature in much of the existing research). This is not to say that SJEs are unplanned but they are more spontaneous sites of emotion, for many involved, due to them not being a regular feature in daily life (Jasper, 2011; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; van Stekelenburg, Walgrave, Klandermans, & Verhulst, 2012).

In this research, it is crucial to explore the nuances of group and collective emotion without delimiting their scope to isolated levels of analysis. For example, Collins' (2004) research into interaction ritual chains has been critiqued for focussing on the origin and enactment of micro-level, interpersonal practices without addressing the influence of institutional and ideological factors (Turner, 2019). Similarly, the role of cultural, shared knowledge has also been suggested as playing a vital role in how collective emotion manifests (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) but is often unaccounted for, or acknowledged but underexplored, in theoretical and empirical research of group emotion (Baker, 2019; Brown, 2020; de Rivera, 1992; Sullivan, 2014b; 2015). As these are consistent critiques of group and collective emotion literature across disciplines it was vital that this investigation of collective emotion considered the interconnections between the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of analysis (Gammerl, Hutta, & Scheer, 2017; Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; Malthaner, 2017; Menges & Kilduff, 2015; Wetherell, 2013).

As discussed in Chapter 1, particularly in the sections on ritual and integrated theories of group emotion, two essential features of collective emotion are co-presence and co-ordinated behaviour (Knottnerus, 2010; 2014; Salmela, 2014a;

Sullivan, 2015; Thonhauser, 2020) which facilitate the convergence of emotion (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). The specific embodiments of affect, however, are less often investigated in any explicit way and even less attention has been paid to how collective and individual behaviours are implicated in the manifestation of collective emotion (Knoblauch, Wetzels, & Haken, 2019; Templeton, 2021; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). To address this the first research questions will investigate ***how are patterns and displays of collective emotion at SJEs influenced and shaped by the practice and presence of (real or imagined) others?***

The second question, informed by the notion of affective arrangements, recognizes that context is not just people but also places and objects that afford or make possible particular types of collective action. Often such factors are unexamined because they are taken for granted therefore the question will explore ***what role does the arrangement of human and non-human elements play in the practice of affect and emotion at SJEs?***

As these events are not isolated points in time that are experienced in a social vacuum it is important to consider how emotion and emotional practices transform over time, how this shapes the way that attendees interact with one another and, ultimately, the impact this has on the shared affective experience and expression. This next research question extends the scope by moving the perspective to the fluid and dynamic nature of affect and emotion (van Kleef & Fischer, 2016) beyond the SJE itself to consider ***how does the practice of emotion prior to, during and after SJEs affect the cohesiveness of an assembled group, and how does this, in turn, influence the collective emotion generated?***

Finally, as demonstrated throughout this literature review and indicated in the research objectives, there is a need to consider that the SJEs are comprised of a

diverse set of attendees. The notion of togetherness will be considered in relation to the (lack of) pre-existing affective ties within a group. The focus remains on how contextual factors influence the practice and embodiment of affect with co-present others to understand ***in what ways is the transformation of emotion over time related to the concept of togetherness in publically assembled, non-homogenous groups, during SJEs?***

A central stance is that exploring the overlap and interplay between different levels of analysis will provide a more complete picture of the manifestation of emotion in groups and collectives (Gammerl, Hutta, & Scheer, 2017; Malthaner, 2017). Such an approach is also beneficial in understanding the role of emotion in social movement studies; using "empirical findings of gatherings and the individual and collective behavior sequences of which they consist" (Schweingruber & McPhail, 1999, p. 493) to complement rather than challenge broader, macro-level protest event analysis (Collins, 2010; Tilly, 2008).

Summary

In the initial stages of this research process a synthesis of existing literature has begun to address the first research objective to develop and refine academic theory related to emotion in groups and collectives. As a result, a concept of emotion and a theoretical framework have been devised that can guide the research design and assist in the investigation of collective emotion. The following chapter will discuss the ontological, epistemological and methodological plans and challenges that result from the proposed theoretical framework and research questions.

Chapter 3 : Methodology

This chapter outlines how the research was informed by the formulation of research objectives, questions and theoretical framework (see preceding chapters) within a critical realist research paradigm. The first section will explore the ontological and epistemological assumptions framing the research and guiding the research design and methodological techniques employed to collect and analyse data that would address the research questions. As reflexivity and positionality are critical aspects of the research approach (Ferber, 2006; Gough & Madill, 2012; Long & Johnson, 2000) the chapter will be interspersed with critical reflections of my role as a researcher and the methods under consideration.

Research Approach

The broad investigative focus is the manifestation of emotion in social collectives which, as indicated in the previous chapter, should make people and their relations and practical activities central. Clarity about the philosophical and methodological principles of the research explicates, and justifies, the research objectives and questions, the theoretical framework and methodological techniques employed in this research (Maxwell, 2013). As discussed in the review of the literature (Chapter 1), there are limitations in the way that emotion and affect are researched with, for example, approaches discerning the construction of emotion through language (Ahmed, 2004a; Cromby, 2011), as purely somatic and embodied, or as reducible to cognitive processes (Bially Mattern, 2011; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). In the former, there is an abstract notion of a beyond-conscious level of affect where emotion is reduced to specific instances of language use and discursive acts (Burkitt, 1997; Wetherell, 2012) and the latter two approaches offer little, if any,

account for the complexity of human experience (Brown, 2020; Mühlhoff, 2019). There is some consensus regarding the consideration of emotion and affect as interpersonal experiences that help determine relational ties that serve to provide a sense of self and belonging (Ahmed, 2004a; Fuchs, 2013; Hutchison, 2016) in relation to others past or present, real or imagined (Wetherell, 2012). Additionally, emotions are communicative acts whereby "the relation of the body to someone or something allows us to grasp the meaning of emotions" (Knoblauch, Wetzels, & Haken, 2019, p. 165) which means they are irreducible to cognitive or physiological features. Gaining an understanding of emotions can only be achieved when an interdisciplinary approach is adopted and accepting that emotions are related to affective states but without a dogmatic adoption of all the assumptions of affect theories (Gammerl, 2012; Wetherell, 2012; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

With regard to the concept of collectives, many scholars would argue that behaviours, beliefs and emotion can be attributed to group membership or social identity (Cocking & Drury, 2004; Hornsey, 2008; Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020; Reicher, 2011). Similarly, research investigating the multiple realities of individuals can be conducted with *a priori* assumptions about the existence of a group or other social and collective phenomenon. The suggestion is that these groups are readily discernable, measureable and homogenous with shared values, beliefs and emotions (Salmela, 2014a). However, generic variables, from class or sex to marital status or political inclination, "are bound temporally, spatially, and culturally, and are inadequately cast to serve as clear instances of generic sociological categories" (Blumer, 1956, p. 685). The research conducted needs to be able to take into consideration the complexity of social interaction and group dynamics without enforcing classifications and categories that are presumed to be

universal. Social constructionism is an ideal approach because it is open to exploring the complexity of social life and unrestricted by objective truth claims (Edwards, Ashmore, & Potter, 1995; Raskin, 2001).

A further feature of research in emotion is the importance of reflexivity and the fact that “understanding emotions also requires reflecting on the researcher’s own emotional biography” (Sauerborn, 2019, p. 306) to inform the research undertaken and guide analysis. Acknowledging such subjectivity is a way to consciously use such knowledge as a resource instead of dimissing it as a potentially negative influence throughout the research process (Gough & Lyons, 2016; Gough & Madill, 2012). A lack of self-reflection about personal experience with emotional collectives, such as experience of being a sports fan or participation in a political rally, could influence the direction in a more positivist way by providing a background on which to base hypotheses of potential ‘truths’ about how emotion manifests, is enacted or shaped in large groups. This resonates with Blumer’s call for (sociological) research not to be reduced to examining relationships between pre-determined variables which conceal the complex and interactive nature of human existence; instead advocating for “the study of group activity through the eyes and experience of the people who have developed the activity [which] requires an intimate familiarity with this experience and with the scenes of its operation” (Blumer, 1956, p. 689). In other words, there should be a focus on the peoples’ lived realities because they are the experts of their own experience with their own ideas and theories about the activities they are engaged in (Gough & Madill, 2012; Maxwell, 2013).

Adopting a relativist, or subjectivist, ontological position would seem appropriate to investigate the complexity and subjectivity of human experience (Parkinson, 1996). In particular, social constructionism because collective emotion is

a social phenomenon and, in this research, reality is presumed to be constructed through joint meaning-making based on shared assumptions (Szanto & Slaby, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). However, unlike a naïve realist, or objectivist, position that presumes there are essential truths that can be uncovered, explained and understood, this works from the premise that realities are multiple, socially constructed and equally valid (Andrews, 2012; Bilgrami, 2002; Burr, 1998; Ratner, Pavón-Cuéllar, & Montserrat Ríos-Martínez, 2020). In its denial of objective truth claims, social constructionism has been critiqued for being anti-humanist and anti-realist (Raskin, 2001; Wetherell, 2012). Socially constructed, multiple realities are considered equally valid and it is therefore impossible to decide between alternatives (Burr, 1998). Further, individual and group agency become nothing more than a discursive construction (Burr, 1998; Wetherell, 2012). Similarly, the relativism of this standpoint can infer a denial of physical reality, human and non-human, and how this can shape and collaborate in the construction of meanings (Slife & Richardson, 2011). Advocates would contend that a tolerance of multiple viewpoints prevents accepted, sacred truths becoming protected from inquiry as social constructionism encourages inquiry and scepticism which can illuminate a nuanced and complex reality that is humanistic in its inclusivity (Edwards, Ashmore, & Potter, 1995).

To avoid possible ontological tensions, either one true reality or multiple equally valid realities, a critical realist approach has been implemented in this research. Critical realism offers “a ‘third way’ in the scientific debate between, on the one hand empiricism/objectivism, and on the other hand relativism/idealism” (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2005, p. 202). Combining a belief in a real world beyond what is perceived, ontological realism, and the world as a constructed representation that cannot claim absolute truth, a relativist or

constructivist epistemology (Archer, 2007; Maxwell, 2013). An important step in reaching valid conclusions about a phenomenon, encouraged by a critical realist framework, is the use of multiple methods (Madill & Gough). Triangulation of data and plural methods improves the validity of research because there is an acceptance that each research method has limitations and drawing on alternative methods to collect data that can be used to corroborate or challenge findings (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014; Denzin, 1978; Long & Johnson, 2000).

The critical realism framework is a distinct standpoint rather than a compromise (e.g., in the form of pragmatism that largely avoids the ontological and epistemological difficulties associated with either position). Research is unconstrained to the situating of social phenomena in individuals (i.e. methodological individualism) or making attributions to collectives or social structures to the detriment of the individual (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2005). In this framework, reality may be socially constructed but it is one that individuals treat as a concrete reality which should be researched in a compatible way (Easton, 2010). This epistemological approach guides the methodology, outlined below, by conceptualising interactive levels of social phenomenon. These levels consist of: the empirical level of experienced and observed events that can be understood through human interpretation, an actual level where events transpire even in the absence of observation, and the real level of causal mechanisms that initiate actions at the empirical level (Fletcher, 2017). Further, critical realism is an important approach to the polarised study of identity because it does not assume identity to be either a cognitive entity or a construction of language (Marks & O'Mahoney, 2014).

Research Design

A multi-method, comparative case study approach was employed to investigate the role of individual, group-based and collective emotions and affects within social collectives engaged in collective action. This was to encourage comparisons to be made between different events and emotions, as well as, gain insight into emotional practices and the sense people made of this in natural settings. A comparative case study approach (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999) was important to be able to address the research objectives as it facilitated observations of diverse settings to ascertain how patterns of emotion in social collectives emerge and change. It also encourages research designs that draw on both multiple methods and sources of data to be able to conduct a nuanced investigation of a topic (Fetterman, 2010; Rees & Gatenby, 2014).

It is accepted that there are no truly comparable case studies because all are subject to contextual and event-specific external factors, from weather to political climate (Ackroyd & Karlsson, 2014). However, a singular case study would only allow for comparisons that produced data specific to an isolated event or social collective. Comparing case studies enables investigation into diverse social actors' responses to internal and external social forces in the creation of the collective and personal realities they inhabit (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). This was beneficial in this research because theoretically-rich insights could be drawn about a specific event and the associated group. These insights could then be compared with, and potentially transferred to, similar events for the same group and different events for other groups. From this an understanding of how these social forces lead to collective emotion could be gained. As explained in the development of the

theoretical framework, it was expected that the interplay of a variety of factors would shape group emotion at SJEs.

As explained in further detail below, ethnographically-informed approach was chosen because it allows for the exploration of social phenomena in situ through the observation and interaction with people, places and behaviour to capture real world constraints and freedoms (Fetterman, 2010). In the research for this thesis, the observed reality documented during on-site fieldwork could be understood through the exploration of how people construct those realities and make sense of them. Comparing and contrasting accounts within and between cases could address research questions of dynamic emotion and interacting levels and forms of affect. This meant a comprehensive understanding of the influence of situation-specific and contextual elements, in a variety of environments, could be produced; this is useful in supporting further scientific investigation through theory-building using real-life samples (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Further, it is important to be able to compare phenomena, populations, and issues, across different scenarios to be able to situate the focus of a study “within a wider landscape of relevant issues, factors, or trends” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 113). Often this type of transferability is missed when investigating causal mechanisms or relations between variables as a result of using narrowly-focussed research questions or hypotheses that do not embrace the complexity of social, and affective, phenomena. Accordingly, the research for this thesis was intentionally conducted at potential sites of collective emotion which may, at first glance, seem incomparable.

Rationale for Chosen Case Studies

In the existing literature there is preponderance of work engaging with established social collectives (see Chapter 1) whereas social justice events (SJEs)

were chosen because they are often events that are emotional and comprised of wide-range of people coming together to resist or support ongoing, contested issues. Most studies look at an amalgamation of SJEs for a social movement group (e.g. the EDL, Pilkington (2016)) at different locations or, less frequently, at different points in time (van Stekelenburg, Walgrave, Klandermans, & Verhulst, 2012). Due to the often spontaneous nature of SJEs it is not always possible to pre-determine when large-scale protests or demonstrations will occur. As the continuing COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted, even established events are subject to many unanticipated external forces that can lead to them being radically altered, postponed or cancelled (Drury et al., 2021; Templeton, 2021). Fortunately, fieldwork for this research was conducted before such global public health measures of social and physical distancing were implemented.

The first large-scale event chosen was Pride because it is an established annual event that aims to facilitate and prompt broad societal change and challenge discrimination (InterPride Inc., 2017; Pride in London, 2019a). Expectations were that it would be a celebratory event as previous research, at London WorldPride in 2012, described an occasion where “politics and party or the carnivalesque glide often seamlessly into one another – they are not discrete categories” (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a, p. 6). It was categorised as a large-scale SJE because, historically, Pride parades in London had attracted large numbers of people; approximately one million attendees and 30,000 people in the parade in 2018 (Wills, 2018). Finally, the social collective involved was not a cohesive one, founded on an established and collectively rehearsed social identity, nor was there a definable, shared goal to be achieved; such as spiritual fulfilment (see Draper, 2014 or Hopkins et al, 2016) or a team victory (for example Sullivan, 2018 or Thonhauser

& Wetzels, 2019). As a result, sample homogeneity that typified much of the existing research (see Chapter 1) was not a limitation which meant that collective emotion could be considered beyond shared group membership.

An issue of national interest that was particularly divisive in the UK when this research began was that of Britain leaving the European Union (Hobolt, 2016; Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020). Protests, both for and against Brexit, had been held across the UK and, with the formation of unified protest groups (Forrester, 2018; People's Vote, 2018) and as the exit deadline drew closer, organised collective actions were expected to intensify. Brexit-related demonstrations were considered as potential sites of public displays of, possibly volatile, emotion due to the fractious nature of the issue. The growing numbers of attendees at Brexit-related protests, since 2016, indicated that they would be comprised of tens of thousands of people which, while not as populated as Pride, were sufficiently large-scale.

Ultimately, the choice of event was determined by opportunity and successful recruitment. An initial aim of the research was to investigate both pro- and anti-Brexit events. Unfortunately, recruitment attempts of pro-Brexit groups were met with no response or, in one case, the group moderator questioned the motives of the research. Anti-Brexit supporters proved to be more receptive to being involved in the research which led to the ‘Put it to the People March’ and the subsequent ‘Final Say March’ being two case studies. Unlike the Pride parade these were politically-motivated protests with specific goals (e.g. to circumvent Brexit). Also, while all the cases were concerned with free, public events each held in London the anti-Brexit format was a march culminating in a political rally held next to the Houses of Parliament. Pride was a parade, consisting of voluntary, but planned, groups

entertaining onlookers lining the route. Furthermore, Brexit-related collective action garnered media-attention while Pride did not have the same public and media focus.

Qualitative Approach

Complementing the aims of critical realism, qualitative inquiry aims to capture the meaning that people make of the social world, as an objective or subjective reality, which requires an openness to others' experience not limited by notions of causality or predetermined categories (Bleiker & Hutchison, 2018; Blumer, 1956). For this study a qualitative approach is useful to be able to "reconstruct the interpretations and meanings of the emotions and actions that are caused by them" (Sauerborn, 2019, p. 303). As highlighted throughout the literature review there are concerns with taking a quantitative approach in the study of collective emotions as it often entails making presumptions about emotional experience being static, individual and/or aggregative, and tied exclusively to group membership (Sullivan, 2015; van Kleef & Fischer, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Further, using variables preconceived by the researcher eliminates the possibility of understanding how respondents make sense of a phenomenon (Willig, 2001) and does not avail the researcher to the shifts and entwining of emotions that can be observed in social interactions because they would be reduced to isolated descriptive labels (Burkitt, 1997; Ross, 2014; Wetherell, 2012). In contrast, the non-numerical data generated in qualitative inquiry is posited as most conducive in the study of affect and emotion particularly "when one is interested in understanding how affectivity unfolds in local arrangements of relational dynamics" (Kahl, 2019, p. 10).

There are criticisms of qualitative research for being subjective in its interpretation, lacking in replicability and that findings are not generalizable due to small, unrepresentative samples (Reid, 1996). This misses the point of qualitative

research. Rather than find universal truths that can be widely applied, the goal of such research is to provide depth and nuance about a phenomena; embracing complexity and variability that is inherent to human experience and meaning-making (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Potter, 1998; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The subjectivity of qualitative research can be a virtue because claims of objectivity are regarded as illusory actions that serve to give research the pretence of authority over, and detachment from, a subject (Ferber, 2006). However, this research aims to withstand such criticisms and produce research that readers would find credible (Reid, 1996) by retaining a sensitivity to context and being conducted in a rigorous, transparent way (Long & Johnson, 2000; Madill & Gough, 2008; Yardley, 2000).

The role of the researcher impacts on participants and the research process in a variety of ways making positionality and reflexivity critical aspects of the qualitative inquiry. As participants and researchers each have multiple, overlapping identities that shape their own reality and influence the reality of others it is essential to be sensitive to this (Gough & Madill, 2012; Shaw, 2010; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Across the case studies, and during the research process, it was important to consider my own positionality. As an insider, there were similarities and shared experiences that assisted in rapport-building, as well as, providing insight during ethnographic encounters and data analysis. For example, attending the same physical events and experiencing the EU referendum were shared experiences that could be used to demonstrate an understanding. Conversely, such a status can restrict insights and the richness of observation as a result of over familiarity and presumption of a shared knowledge and understanding (Plows, 2008; Roberts, 2014); an example could be that the importance of attire may go unexplored because it is an expected norm in a particular environment. Theoretical concepts

assist in resisting such assumptions being made as they can direct attention to facets of emotional dynamics and expression, that could be taken for granted, and encourage their role to be re-evaluated (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019b). Further, as advocated in reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019), it was essential that, for both populations being studied, I should reflect on the impact my position could have before, during and after the research to discern how my personal history, beliefs and feelings could be a pathway, or a barrier, to knowledge and understanding.

My position broadly aligns with my participants because I support remaining in the EU and am a gay man who advocates for the rights of LGBTQ+ people. On the surface this would position me as an insider especially with regard to the practices and experiences of Pride attendees. While I was not involved in the parade I do have the lived experience of being non-heteronormative therefore it was always important, throughout the research process, to be conscious of my own experience not overshadowing theirs (Roberts, 2014). Unexpectedly, when interacting with anti-Brexit attendees, I often found myself feeling like an outsider (Plows, 2008). A consistent narrative drawn on by interviewees described Leave supporters as misled because they were poor, less educated people who were unable to think critically. My disconnection was because prior to beginning this PhD they would have been describing me. I have never been financially stable and only gained an undergraduate level education in my mid-thirties. More importantly, the less fortunate people they were patronising were my friends and family. With Pride attendees there was no such disconnect although I would classify myself as distanced from the LGBTQ+ community, or ‘gay scene’, having had minimal interaction for the past twenty years. As someone who is historically apolitical and non-activist I had never

attended any type of SJE. The position I held as both insider and outsider were beneficial in this research because it led me to continuously question my approach, interactions and conclusions in an informal, ad hoc manner; jotting down thoughts and questions as I went along (See Appendix A and B). Reflexivity also entailed taking a critical stance on my understanding and experience of the topic of interest and the potential theories and methodological approaches that could be utilised to research it (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019; Gough & Madill, 2012).

Data Collection

As discussed, this research consisted of three case studies where a qualitative approach was used to inform a more nuanced understanding of the affective practices of emotional collectives during large-scale SJEs. Refinement of existing theories of 'protest atmospheres' (van Leeuwen, Klandermans, & van Stekelenburg, 2015; van Leeuwen, van Stekelenburg, & Klandermans, 2016) or crowd typologies (Blumer, 1935) at SJEs was not a goal because the research focus was the embodiment and experience of emotion and affect in such situations rather than creation of a checklist of the affective features and properties comprising different types of SJE. Research methods utilised in this thesis combine techniques from research exploring affective practices considering "why commemorative choreography matters, to understand its effects, and what kinds of identity work become possible" (McCreanor, Wetherell, McConville, Moewaka Barnes, & Moewaka Barnes, 2019, p. 977). Research using this approach has been conducted at large-scale public national commemorations using interviews with those who resisted emotional involvement (Wetherell, McConville, & McCreanor, 2019) or video

analysis of social practices at the events (McCreanor, Wetherell, McConville, Moewaka Barnes, & Moewaka Barnes, 2019).

Ethnography is a study of the sociality of social collectives often in an inductive thematic way; information on a specific social environment is collected from a range of sources to triangulate findings and conclusions about social interactions, behaviours and perceptions (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). Observation is characteristic of "most ethnographic research and is crucial to effective fieldwork" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 45). A focus in this research was the embodied practice of emotion and affect and how this is influenced by human and non-human objects, such as how people organise themselves in a physical space, meaning observation was essential. Traditionally this would entail immersing oneself into a culture or community for extended periods of time (Knoblauch, 2005) to engage with, and understand, social interaction and organisation first-hand (Hammersley, 2006). However, this is not appropriate for all ethnographic research involving the study of very specific social phenomena. 'Focussed ethnography' has been devised as an alternative that utilises many of the same methods, with similar effect, in a short-term, intense manner (Knoblauch, 2005; Pink & Morgan, 2013; Rebstein, 2012).

The events studied were relatively short in duration and constitute a "distinctive social activity set apart from daily social activities" (Knottnerus, 2010, p. 41). Pride in London, for example, is an annual celebratory event and the anti-Brexit rallies were organised on a more frequent but ad-hoc basis driven by the need to respond to events as the Brexit situation unfolded. Rather than focus on only established groups that were involved in these types of events, which could facilitate a more traditional ethnographic approach, the goal was to look at emotion in a longitudinal approach that could also explore feelings between events and across

less cohesive communities. This was to address the research objective to investigate a series of public assemblages of heterogeneous groups (i.e. where a shared group identity is less established or prevalent) to explore the role of group membership in collective emotion formation and facilitation. Observation facilitated the documentation and theorisation of the features and properties of collective emotions and their dynamic relations during SJEs. These could be documented for subsequent analysis (Rebstein, 2012) which is explained later in the chapter.

Videography is the combination of ethnography with video analysis that offers a level of detail of the socially observable that is unavailable to participants or observing researchers (Knoblauch, Tuma, & Schnettler, 2014; Knoblauch, Wetzels, & Haken, 2019). Attendance at physical events meant this was a method that could be employed and the footage later analysed in detail and triangulated with other collected data such as interviewee accounts (Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2015). High definition (4k) video footage was recorded using a wide-angle lens for the first two case studies using a stationary camera at a fixed location. This position captured a cross section of most of the crowd as they moved past a space that was expected to evoke a wide range of patterns of emotional expression; opposite Downing Street for the anti-Brexit march and at a procession turning point at the Pride parade.

Despite prospective site surveys to choose a suitable location a lack of personal protest experience meant that they were chosen for their logistical advantages such as space to set up a camera that provided a view looking down onto and across a section of demonstration routes. Having an understanding of how large groups of people congregate and move in these physical spaces would have been beneficial in choosing the camera location. In the first case study the chosen location, opposite Number 10 Downing Street, was expected to be a site where

intense emotion would be directed at the residence of the Prime Minister (see Appendix C). On the day, protest organisers had erected large screens to broadcast the rally to those in the march who could not access Parliament Square; this led to protestors congregating at points just before and after Downing Street and the chosen location gradually became inactive once the rally began.

At Pride in London, the location on Pall Mall provided a view of the parade coming down from Piccadilly (see Fig 5.1). However, as the parade route also turned from one street into another, this seemed to be a favoured site for those who came to watch. This meant that the camera's view was often obscured by the excitable crowd and distinguishing those in and out of the parade became difficult. In both cases, the cameras were setup a couple of hours before events began and it became impossible to relocate as the streets became congested. In hindsight, contacting organisers in advance to determine the placement of additional street furniture, such as television screens, and selecting naturally elevated locations with a view of the oncoming protestors, rather than across them would have been advantageous.

In the third case study a mobile, 360-degree, 4K (high definition) Samsung Gear camera was used, attached to a monopod extended above the crowd, to capture video images of the event. The 360-degree lens of the camera allowed for the activity in the protest to be captured all around the location of the camera operator (in this case a member of the supervision team). The small size (100.6 x 46.3 x 45.1mm) and weight (130g) of the camera (Samsung, 2017), unlike the stationary cameras previously used, meant that the camera operator could easily move around the protest location and film. The ease with which this camera could be transported meant that footage was taken of the crowd moving through the streets of

London, close to Parliament Square, until the crowd became stationary whilst listening to speeches in Parliament Square. While the people and activities filmed were dependent upon where the camera was in the protest this method offered various advantages to a reliance on traditional observation and the static, single-lens video recording used in the first two case studies.

Researcher bias was reduced as the camera operator did not physically direct the camera to particular elements they deemed to be of interest and recordings were simultaneously taken of activity that the researcher was attending to (i.e. where their body was oriented) and their surroundings to either side and behind them. Video footage could be later analysed in detail as an immersed 'first-hand' (re)experiencing of the event using a virtual reality (VR) headset and embodied affective practices could be observed and sequentially analysed. From this, multiple questions could be asked about the same recording in ways that are not possible in the moment using direct observation; for example, without the researcher becoming a disruptive element to others during the protest. Moreover, the influence that the arrangement of objects and people in the physical protest space had on emotion and affect or the intensity of emotions and social sharing (e.g., hugging others, interactions with strangers etc.) could be examined and further features, such as the duration of celebrations or particular interactions, be documented.

Protest locations filmed using the 360-degree camera were informed by interviewees' accounts of emotionally salient aspects of the first anti-Brexit march they attended; the ambulatory march and the rally in Parliament Square.[2] Hyde Park,

[2] At this event there were two camera operators: a member of the supervision team recorded footage using the Samsung Gear in the protest space and I was in charge of a static camera positioned opposite Downing Street. Despite the reduction in activity at the first protest, as the event progressed, a lot of footage of the procession was captured and the initial plan was that this may be useful to compare to footage captured at the same location at a different point in time. The 360-degree footage was utilised as it captured an event that was particularly salient to interviewees.

the start of the march, had also been highlighted as significant however, as per those same accounts, beginning at this point meant access to Parliament Square was not guaranteed. Further, the rally was held in Parliament Square making it a 'destination point'. Therefore, the camera operator joined the march at Trafalgar Square, continued onto Whitehall and into Parliament Square to await the scheduled speakers (see Chapter 6).

Ethical approval for the use of videography, and the research overall, was gained from Coventry University in advance of all research commencing (see Appendix ZB). Covert research, where a researcher's presence is not known to all involved, has been described by some researchers as unacceptable even though it is often an unintended, or unavoidable, feature of ethnographic study (Lugosi, 2006). However, even though fieldwork involved capturing a large number of people's images on camera, it was deemed inappropriate to obtain their individual consent. Guidelines acknowledge that obtaining consent is not practicable in all situations such as crowd research (Economic and Social Research Council, 2021). Participants were given the option to consent to the use of their image had it been captured on film although this was unlikely in such a large group of people. Moreover, as SJEs were being held in public spaces, it was not deemed to be intrusive or a form of potential harm. Finally, filming was reasoned to be acceptable because of the public spaces of study and the overt manner of filming. The cameras were visible to those walking past, if not made more prominent, as they were elevated above the crowd line but still within view. The camera operator was also completely accessible to any interested parties and happy to discuss the reason for filming, the research being undertaken and would stop filming if requested. At each site such situations did occur, including being approached by the police and event organisers, however no

one indicated there was a problem with the filming. This reflected the abundance of people filming and photographing the events, as well as, the acceptance of such practices in everyday life.

Participants and Recruitment

Interview participants were a self-selected sample recruited by advertising the study through university bulk email lists and social media sites using virtual flyers (see Appendix D-I). For the first case study, the 'Put it to the People March' (PPM), recruitment began a month beforehand so that interviews could be held immediately before and after the event. This was in an effort to investigate how emotion changed over time and to gain an insight into their emotional habitus leading up to, but not retrospectively influenced by, attendance at the march itself. An aim of this study was to speak to people within a few weeks of the event because a critique of interviews, as a data collection technique, is the unreliability of human memory (Loveday, 2016; Rebstein, 2012). Accessing those memories closer to the event was expected to reduce such cognitive unreliability and the majority of all interviews for this case study were completed within 30 days of the event. Recruitment after the march was assisted by participants sharing the recruitment material in Brexit-related groups that they were involved in.

Recruitment followed a slightly amended, but similar, pattern for the subsequent case studies. In addition to online recruitment, hardcopy flyers were distributed in welcome packs at the British Psychological Society's Sexualities Section conference (with permission of the Section President) and in LGBTQ+ venues in advance of the Pride parade. This was done in venues throughout Coventry, Birmingham and London after permission was granted by venue employees. This approach proved unsuccessful as no interest in being interviewed

was expressed in advance of the parade. To remedy this, a list of parade groups was compiled from the video footage and, where contact information was available in the public domain, 139 participating groups were contacted by email. A diverse range of groups were approached in this way; from LGBTQ+ charities and advocacy groups to institutions such as banks, universities and government-funded bodies. Recruitment material was included in the email along with a request that this be shared with their group members (see Appendix J). This indirect approach granted more agency to potential participants; group members were free to contact the researcher at their leisure if they wished to know more, express their interest and arrange to discuss the parade retrospectively. This was not considered a methodological issue because, from comparisons between PPM accounts, attendance at the event did not influence memories of preceding emotional states (i.e. recollections were consistent whether participants were interviewed before and after the event or only after it).

Positionality was particularly relevant at this point in the research; the requirement of disclosure was a question that I spent time considering. As an 'objective' researcher my own sexuality would seem to be a non-issue when contacting potential participants. It was not an issue that arose in interactions with participants in the PPM case study (nor was my position on leaving or remaining in the European Union). LGBTQ+ individuals, and as a community, continue to face objectification and misrepresentation in the media and by heteronormative society more generally (Pullen, 2009). Consequently, I felt that academic interest may be perceived in an unfavourable light. This is directly related to the importance of researcher awareness and transparency. How I represented myself to participants would shape how they constructed me and "these subjective understandings will

have implications for the knowledge that is produced from the 'ethnographic encounter' between researcher and informants" (Pink, 2013, p. 37). At this point in the research process, the 'ethnographic encounter' was between myself and gatekeepers, those people in charge of communications for the groups being contacted, and it was essential that they constructed me, and my research, positively (Gough & Madill, 2012). This led to my initial email introducing myself as a researcher and a gay man with a genuine interest in being a voice for the LGBTQ+ community; not just a researcher who may, or may not, be aligned with the cause (See Appendix J). The irony is that disclosure for LGBTQ+ people is an enforced social act (Kitzinger, 2005) that evokes fear and emphasises society's view that they are an inferior 'other'; here I felt that self-disclosure would dispel any such feelings that my contact may arouse.

The Final Say March (FSM) was an unexpected opportunity to reconnect with participants from the first case study to see if they would be attending and would be available to be re-interviewed. Such continuity is unusual for focussed ethnography due to the short and intense time scales. There was a concern that expecting involvement in further interviews could be ethically questionable if previous interviewees felt obligated or coerced. As a result, an email explaining the unexpected continuation of this part of the research was sent to each of PPM interviewee which asked if they were attending and would like to talk about their ongoing experience, however, it was communicated to participants that there was no obligation for them to be involved (see Appendix N). Respondents were very forthcoming, which suggested concerns were either mitigated or unfounded, with nearly half of the PPM interviewees agreeing to their involvement and the remainder advising of their unavailability. Further, the decision was taken to only conduct one

post-march interview because the interviews only needed to address the seven-month period since the PPM. Continued involvement in research has been suggested to result in interview fatigue and a decline in the quality of responses (Bampton & Cowton, 2002); although such a relationship is empirically unproven and possibly a reflection of multiple influencing factors (Maas & de Heer, 1995). In this case, interview accounts continued to be rich and detailed and of similar durations, even though they were more focussed, which indicated that there was no interview fatigue. Supplementing these further accounts, another seven people were recruited through snowball sampling and using virtual flyers (see Appendix L and M). Fig. 3.1 shows the number of participants interviewed for each case study and the overlap between the two anti-Brexit demonstrations.

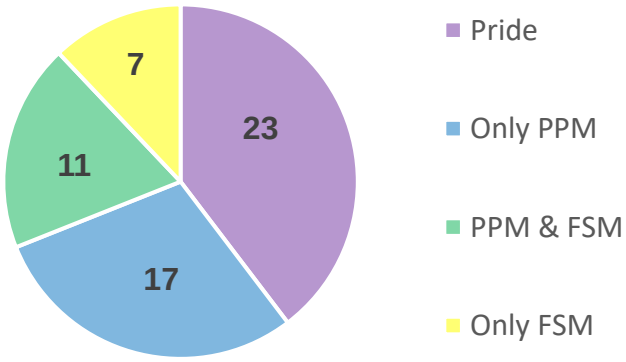


Figure 3.1 *Number of Interviewees per SJE*

Exploring Affect Using Interviews

Following a critical realist, qualitative approach this study employed semi-structured interviews to collect data as these are a useful method to gain a nuanced understanding of how people talk about and make sense of a subject (Willig, 2001). An important element of focussed ethnography is interviewing (Knoblauch, 2005)

because pure observation is devoid of the meaning-making of the social actors involved and offers no insight beyond researcher interpretation (Hammersley, 2006). Moreover, the position adopted in this research is one whereby social scientific knowledge is generated in a socially constructed manner through interaction between the interviewer and interviewee (Kvale, 2006). Therefore, interviews were not treated as a fact-finding activity focusing on the 'truth' about interviewees' personal reality or 'lifeworld' or assuming the simplistic validity of descriptions as factual statements representing objective truth.

As this thesis investigates affect as a social phenomenon the focus on individual perspectives and accessing personal realities could be considered as counter-productive (Loveday, 2016). Nevertheless, interviews were an opportunity for the researcher and participants to explore which emotion-laden social practices were salient to interviewees, the role of the physically being with others, as well as, the sense they made of surrounding social structures. Further, providing participants with the time and space to recount their experience allowed them to 'relive' emotions, giving voice to their understanding of why they felt a certain way and allowing them to explore the dynamic nature of emotions and affect at an event (Loveday, 2016). Using a method that elicited detail was particularly important because, as stated earlier, I had no previous direct experience with SJEs. From a standpoint of theoretically-informed 'not knowing' I was able to formulate questions informed by the literature but unbiased by personal history. During the interviews it also meant that I did not presume to know the background or motives to a person's narrative; instead my aim was to thoroughly investigate their experiences by allowing them to talk freely and without judgement.

Semi-structured interviews provided the flexibility to explore meaning-making and unexpected, novel insights which are essential to gain a detailed, thick description (Kindsiko & Poltimäe, 2019; Willig, 2001), as well as, encourage accounts of variability, depth and self-reflection (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The only way to gain access to such detailed insights and self-reflection is by establishing a relationship of trust between the interviewee and researcher (Glesne, 2006). Vital in the creation of such a relationship are sensitivity and rapport-building which are often informed by facial expression and other embodied behaviour as understanding and receptivity can be physically gauged by both parties involved (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019; Irvine, Drew, & Sainsbury, 2013). Correspondingly, face-to-face interviews are advocated as a superior method in qualitative research because all involved can discern information from these visual cues and contextual information (Novick, 2008).

In this study, the events were concerned with social justice issues of (inter)national significance and comprised of populations from diverse backgrounds and locations. Only conducting physically co-present, face-to-face interviews could exclude those who were uncomfortable talking about sensitive issues with a stranger or who were less accessible to the researcher. This led to the decision to allow participants to choose the interview format; (i) Conventional interview which could be at a location of their choosing and would allow for a ‘natural’ conversational interaction using visual cues to build rapport and demonstrate sensitivity, (ii) Video-chat which would mimic a traditional interview but without the requirement of physical co-presence and offers flexibility of time and place, however, it requires participants to have access to, and ability to use, video-chat facilities, (iii) Telephone interviews retain the interactivity of a ‘natural’ conversation and allows more freedom of when

and where it can be conducted, however, it would be absent of visual cues and could be perceived as impersonal, or (iv) Email is a format that allows participants to take time to consider their answers to typed questions and an automatic transcript is created, however, written words can be easily misinterpreted because the format does not facilitate clarification, encourage depth and self-reflection or establish trust.

The first three methods were preferred because they allow for rapport-building which aids in creating a comfortable, safe space for participants to explore their own thoughts and feelings about potentially sensitive topics (Fylan, 2005). Rapport-building is possible in each of these formats because overlapping interests and concerns can be established (Gough & Madill, 2012; Plows, 2008; Shaw, 2010) during the introductions and general 'small talk' at the start of an interview (Drabble, Trocki, Salcedo, Walker, & Korcha, 2016). Sensitivity was especially important because talking about sensitive subjects, such as political disappointment, can be difficult (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019). Unsurprisingly, this is easily demonstrated through visual cues, in the case of conventional and video-chat formats, but would need to be achieved in other ways in telephone interviews.

Over the three case studies, fifty-five participants, the majority, requested that interviews be conducted by telephone, twenty-two interviews were held in person and two completed by email. This was not considered a limitation, despite it being a discouraged method in the literature, because research has shown the quality of data collected is comparable with face-to-face interviews (Cachia & Millward, 2011; Novick, 2008). It did mean that, instead of inferring emotions from visual embodied cues, the non-lingual, audible dimensions of affect had to be actively listened for. People are often unable to articulate affect and emotion (Lambert, Scherer, Rogers, & Jacoby, 2009; Ransan-Cooper, Ercan, & Duus, 2018) which results in hesitations

and uncertainty. Difficulty in communicating emotions leads to “realms of silence and the unspoken” that have been demonstrated to be “productive sites for exploration beyond textual analysis” (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019, p. 66).

Importantly, unspoken conversational features, such as silence, stammering, laughter, and changes in breathing rate are essential indicators of affect and emotion *during* the interview process that also assist in maintaining rapport and sensitivity. Ahmed (2004a) cautioned against the reliance on singular modes of inquiry, such as purely textual analysis, when researching affect because insight is gained “through the work of listening to others, of hearing the force of their pain and the energy of their anger” (p. 188). It is just as applicable when considering the presumed superiority of face-to-face interviews. As social beings, humans understand, communicate and construct reality through multiple senses. Visual cues such as facial expressions, gestures and bodily behaviour may be prioritised to appraise a person’s emotional state, interest and understanding but non-visual elements are still registered and evaluated on a non-conscious level. In telephone interviewing they must be prioritised and evaluated at a conscious, active level.

Researchers have found that participants have a preference for telephone interviews because they are more flexible, convenient and less demanding than face-to-face interviews as they can be conducted with less interference to interviewees work and social lives (Cachia & Millward, 2011). In the current study telephone interviews were the most popular method with participants requesting interviews on weekends, evenings and lunch breaks. It also improved confidentiality because we were unable to see each other thereby reducing concerns of being ‘judged’ or identifiable which meant that they could be more candid in their responses (Cachia & Millward, 2011; Irvine, Drew, & Sainsbury, 2013). Moreover,

this was an important disruption to the inherent power dynamics of face-to-face interviewing (Kvale, 2006; Novick, 2008). Interviews in unfamiliar places (e.g. a university building), in front of ‘an expert’ can cause discomfort, lend an air of formality that is not conducive to personal sharing and lead to issues of social desirability; there is a power asymmetry with a bias toward the needs of the researcher (Kvale, 2006). Although it is impossible to remove this hierarchy completely the use of telephone interviews gave power back to the interviewee. Additionally, while my position as researcher meant that my agenda structured the discussion, I was explicit in renouncing my position as an ‘expert’. Each interviewee was advised that I had no direct experience of protests, or Pride parades, and was there to learn from them; this, in effect, either placed them in a position of ‘expert’ who I was there to learn from or, if this was their first experience of such events, became a commonality of experience that enhanced the building of trust (Gough & Madill, 2012; Shaw, 2010).

Within qualitative research interviewing sample size is often determined by reaching saturation; this is when the researchers will discontinue interviews because no new information is being generated (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Willig, 2001). There is not a predetermined number of interviews that should be conducted as qualitative research is a context-dependent quest for nuance and richness which is dependent upon sample heterogeneity and complexity of a topic (Kindsiko & Poltimäe, 2019). Consequently, recommendations about the number of interviews required for saturation range from as little as ten, for homogenous samples, to an upper limit of fifty; although it is just as possible that with “constructivist or in-depth qualitative research, a single example can be highly instructive” (Boddy, 2016, p. 431). An important consideration is that larger sample sizes inhibit the amount of depth and

meaning that can be made of the collected data because it restricts the time that a researcher can commit to individual interviews (Boddy, 2016; Kindsiko & Poltimäe, 2019).

In this research the amount of cases chosen was driven by the research objective to explore group homogeneity rather than a desire for generalisability or transferability. The amount of interviews in each of case studies was guided by a variety of factors: recruitment success, sample heterogeneity and saturation. With the anti-Brexit protests recruitment and interviews could have continued, however, there were consistent themes within accounts and a sample homogeneity, with regard to class and education, which indicated saturation. Similarly, saturation was reached in the Pride case study as there were many commonalities of experience being reported across interviewees which could be explained by them being overwhelmingly White, cisgender, gay men. Without radical changes to the recruitment strategy this was unlikely to change. Moreover, because responses to recruitment messages dwindled over time, the search for further participants was stopped. Underrepresentation of the wider LGBTQ+ community was an unfortunate limitation discussed in Chapter 7.

Interview Process and Ethical Considerations

Across the studies the questions followed the same format (see Table 3.1); beginning with general questions about the backgrounds of interviewees and their involvement with the issues that the events were organised around. This helped to focus the conversation, build rapport and offer an insight into the historical aspects of their involvement and the patterns of affect and emotion evident in the interview discussions and in relation to features each SJE. Each interview focussed primarily on their personal accounts and the sense they made of their feelings before, during

and after the event. Specific questions were asked about how they felt leading up to and after the event but they were encouraged to recount the day in detail; this produced rich descriptions of the elements that were important to the interviewee not necessarily discussing specific emotions or identifying feelings on the basis of use of particular emotion words. Explicit interview questions also explored the importance of being with others, the experience of shared group emotion and impact of co-present others participating in collective action. Where participants were unsure of the meaning of group emotion they were given examples that aligned with their interests such as celebratory events like festivals or football matches. Self-reflection was encouraged throughout the interviews as it provided insight into how interviewees construct themselves and others, as individuals and collectives (Wetherell, 2012).

In the first case study, interviews held pre-SJE established individual histories of political interests and involvement (or disengagement), thoughts and feelings about the EU referendum and Brexit (including interactions with others), as well as their feelings, expectations and reasons for attending the upcoming march. Post-SJE interviews focussed on their experience at the march, feelings since and comparisons with other SJEs they had attended (see Appendix O). For those only interviewed once, after the SJE, the pre-SJE questions were rephrased to elicit retrospective accounts (see Appendix P). This was used as a template in subsequent case studies, where interviews were only held after the event, with interview items revised to suit the case topic and adding case-specific lines of enquiry such as discussing the parade format in the Pride case study (see Appendix Q) or asking about their feelings since the extension of the Brexit deadline (Appendix S).

Question Topics	Scope of Questions	Relation to Conceptual Framework
Interest in politics and social justice Feelings about the social justice issue How they become involved	Establising their personal history with this, and other, specific social justice event and engagement beyond it.	Emotional Habitus Affective Practice
Feelings in the lead-up to the event Narration of the event Feelings throughout and after the event Emotional highs and lows of the event	To gain a thick description of the aspects of the events that were emotion-laden and important to the interviewee. Changes of emotion could be identified and clarified to understand influencing factors.	Affective Practice Affective Arrangements
Feeling of being part of a large group with similar goals** Experience of shared emotions	Exploring importance and feeling of being with others, as well as, the presence or absence of shared group emotions at the event. **anti-Brexit interviewees were also asked about how this differed from the online petition running at the time	Togetherness Affective Arrangements Affective Practice
Meaning of the event to themselves or others Impact of the event	Was the event expected to have a change on their own, or others, lives beyond the march	Emotional Habitus
Comparison with other social justice events Thoughts on those opposed to such events	Sense-making and reflection in light of other perspectives and experience	ALL

Table 3.1 *Mapping Interview Questions to the Theoretical Framework*

There were variations in the interview format that were pertinent to the data collected. First, two Pride interviewees requested that the interviews be written rather than oral; this allowed one to answer questions when he was able to find the time and the other preferred this method because he found conversational interaction quite difficult. The same questions were sent to both participants with written 'prompts' included (see Appendix R) to guide their responses. This removed the spontaneous, naturalistic and interactive aspects of other interviews but retained their depth (Madill & Gough, 2008). Flexibility, with regard to the interview format, overcame some of the power dynamics of qualitative interviewing because it meant that I could be more inclusive and responsive to the needs of the participants (Gough & Madill, 2012; Madill & Gough, 2008; Kvale, 2006).

Second, all participants provided demographic information and signed consent forms by email (see Appendices T - X), in advance of the interviews, which meant there was no requirement to retain and store hardcopies of these documents. Each interviewee was assigned a participant number that all files and folders, including the recorded audio files of interviews, were saved under. For security, all information was saved to OneDrive on encrypted Coventry University servers accessible only by passwords known only to the lead researcher.

A third variation to the data collection procedures was note-taking by the researcher during interviews. This was done so that areas that could be explored further or clarified would not be overlooked; it is a practice that can be distracting and intimidating to participants in face-to-face interviews but this was more easily accomplished during telephone calls where it was possible to make notes unobtrusively (Cachia & Millward, 2011). These notes were handwritten, identifiable only by the participant number, and proved essential when two audio files were

corrupted because the notes taken could still be used as collected data for analysis (see Appendix Y).

A final point returns to the discussion of disclosure. As mentioned, during recruitment I felt it was important to be upfront with gatekeepers about my own sexuality but not my stance on Brexit. During the interviews this was approached slightly differently. I did not declare my stance on Brexit unless an interviewee asked because it could discourage openness if they believed that my views were different, or in opposition, to theirs. Inevitably, participants did ask and, as they all advocated for remaining in the EU, this became a point of similarity that enhanced rapport. With Pride interviewees I reflected on how I would feel if I was being interviewed about issues connected to my sexuality; if I felt a researcher may not appreciate how LGBTQ+ individuals navigate a heteronormative world I would be uncomfortable and guarded. On the other hand, I would be just as uncomfortable if an interviewer began the process with a declaration of their sexuality because it would feel slightly confrontational. Other qualitative researchers have found that transparency about their LGBTQ+ status helped build trust with LGBTQ+ interviewees by disrupting heteronormative social expectations (Halkitis, 2015; Roberts, 2014; Schulze, 2015) and establishing overlapping interests and experience (Gough & Madill, 2012; Plows, 2008; Shaw, 2010). With this in mind, when I introduced the study I was open about my status as both insider and outsider; explaining that I had not had much involvement in the ‘gay scene’ since I ‘came out’ as a teenager and, as a result, was interested in Pride because I had missed out on the experience. Simultaneously, it disrupted the potential asymmetrical power dynamics, favouring the interviewer, by positioning participants as the expert of their own experience (Kvale, 2006; Maxwell, 2013; Novick, 2008).

Data Preparation

Video Recorded Data

Visual research methods using images and film have been widely used in qualitative research, however, psychological research has principally used them as stimuli to elicit data (Gleeson, 2011). Videography, a method specifically for the interpretive analysis of video footage, is growing in popularity but has been underutilised in the study of affect and emotion as social phenomena (Knoblauch, Tuma, & Schnettler, 2014; Knoblauch, Wetzels, & Haken, 2019) and the visual data captured is limited by the restricted lens frame of standard video equipment (Forrester, 2011). As a result much of the activity in dynamic social environments can be missed unless there are multiple cameras (Knoblauch, 2005). To this researcher's knowledge, this is the first emotion-focussed research conducted using video-recorded observations that can be viewed, and analysed, in a 360-degree format. The advantage of using a 4k (high definition) camera such as the Samsung Gear 4k 360-degree video camera is that it overcomes limitations of perspective (visual), attention and embodiment as discussed above. The 4k footage recorded creates an image that is high in quality and sharpness which assists the analysis of crowd behaviours (i.e. they are not blurry or unintelligible); it is not, however, the highest video quality available and the ability to analyse smaller or more complex elements that were recorded, such as those that were further away from the camera or facial expressions, is still limited. Nevertheless, this limitation does not detract from this technology being an invaluable research tool and important advance in being able to experience being immersed in that environment and to explore details undocumented at the time.

Knoblauch and colleagues' (2014) guidelines on videography and analysis were invaluable in this research as was their guidance of watching recordings multiple times in order to document sequences of events and emotion. This was accomplished using an Oculus Go VR headset for 360-degree, three-dimensional immersion and using the OneDrive video player as a conventional, two-dimensional, video. As can be seen in Fig 3.4 and 3.5, the different presentations of the same footage offers different analytical functionality. VR immersed the analyst into the rally at Parliament Square as if being there first-hand in the position of the camera. The analyst's gaze could be directed at any element captured around the camera position, by simply moving the headset, in a way that correlates with real-life (Sheikh, Brown, Watson, & Evans, 2016). As noted earlier, this recording was conducted by a member of the supervision team, however all data analysis was performed by the main researcher who identified emotionally salient interactions, objects and activities while watching and re-watching the footage from different angles. The time-points during each SJE that were concentrated on were those highlighted as significant by interviewees. For example, participants repeatedly discussed the live vote in Parliament as a shared emotional high point during the event. Video recording made it possible to examine footage before and after this element of the protest, as well as, watch the same footage repeatedly but orienting the researcher's gaze in different directions (i.e. backwards and sideways in addition to the view forwards that corresponded with the view of the camera operator).

Switching between the two viewing methods was essential because the VR headset prevented notes being made due to immersion; the viewer's visual field is completely encompassed by the headset and the immersive experience "can completely block your perception of your actual surroundings" (Facebook

Technologies, LLC, 2019, p. 3). During each VR viewing a mental note was made of elements to scrutinize and the time-point that they had occurred. The same moment in the video footage was re-viewed as a flattened artefact on a standard video player and a chronological time sequence transcript of events created (Knoblauch, Tuma, & Schnettler, 2014) which detailed visual observations, sounds heard, social interactions and elements that elicited behavioural responses and incorporated elements from the different perspectives available (see Appendix Z). This meant that observation was not reduced to those in the camera's field of view (i.e. looking forward) instead acting as if multiple cameras has been recording at the same time and position. It also allowed emotional facial expressions and bodily movements to be documented rather than one or the other as would have been determined by placement of a front or backwards facing camera; most people were oriented in the same direction, toward the stage, so a camera similarly oriented would capture people who were turned away from the camera so facial expressions would not be seen. The elevated position of the camera, above the crowd line, also offered the advantages of a greater field of vision without obscuring the view of other people in the protest.

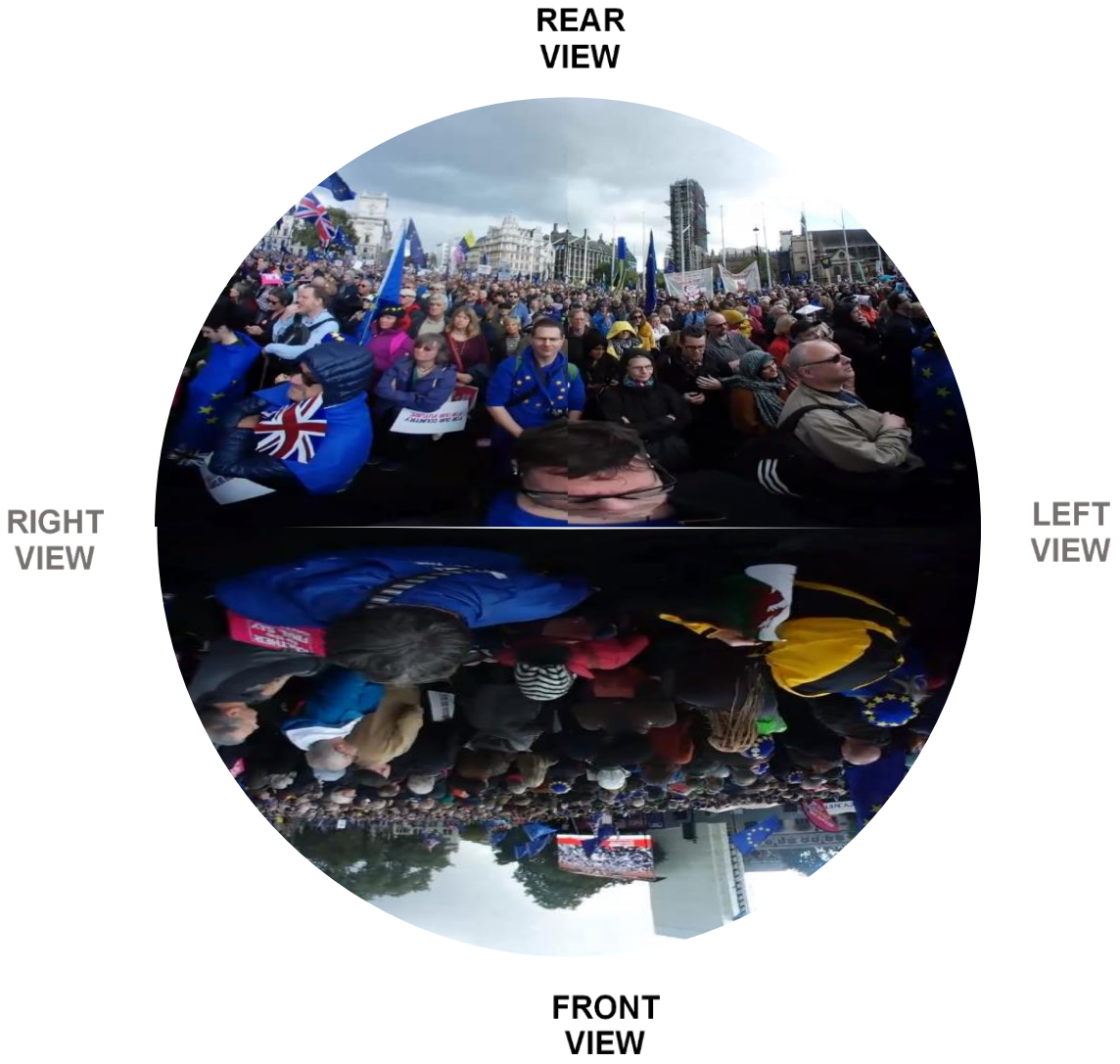


Figure 3.2 *Representation of 360-degree Video Footage*
(from the perspective of the camera operator)

This image demonstrates the dimensions of the virtual reality, 360-degree version of the recorded video footage; the camera, and person viewing the footage, take the central position and the two rear views (see two-dimensional flat artefact version in Fig 3.3) are joined or stitched to create a 3D object that one can be immersed in.

While this is helps to show the perspectives of the two cameras this is not an exact representation of how the images are viewed in a VR headset or on a 360-degree display on a computer screen

Figure 3.3 *Still Image of 360-degree Footage*

Displayed as a two-dimensional, flat artefact in OneDrive video player. The Samsung camera uses two cameras to film 180-degrees in front and behind the camera which it automatically combines to create a 360-degree view (see Fig 3.2). In this mode the footage from the front camera view remains intact while the rear camera footage is divided into left and right side views.

As this was stored on OneDrive the video was presented, viewed and analysed in the above format. (The ability to view the footage on a desktop computer in a 360-degree format, similar to the VR headset, is an option that was not known to the primary researcher until after analysis had been completed).

Recorded Audio Data

Transcripts are a conventional method of documenting qualitative interviews, acting as a memory device (Rapley, 2007) that allows a researcher to maintain a close connection or immersion with their collected data (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006). Although it is important to note that transcription is not simply the transformation of the spoken to a written form but rather that recorded interactions are *translated* into a text (Rapley, 2007). Moreover, the interactions transcribed are subtly shaped by the transcriber's bias and theoretical frameworks (Markle, West, & Rich, 2011) and must therefore also be regarded as a form of analysis (Rapley, 2007). If conclusions are to be trustworthy and valid it is important that transcripts are accurate and authentic representations of interviewee accounts (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006; Markle, West, & Rich, 2011) that demonstrate the sensitivity to context and rigour necessary in ensuring research validity and credibility (Reid, 1996; Yardley, 2000).

Consequently, in order for the research to be credible, authentic, transparent and rigorous the original audio files were replayed multiple times whilst creating and revising the transcripts to reflect what was heard verbatim; this is the first step of reflexive thematic analysis referred to as 'familiarisation' (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019). The level of depth and complexity captured, of interactions during the interviews, through the transcription of paralinguistic features is at the discretion of the researcher (Rapley, 2007). For the purposes of this research, a focus of interest was emotion and affective practices so it was appropriate to indicate moments of emotion within each interview; notes were made of conversational features indicating this whilst listening, and re-listening, to audio recordings of interviews. The example in Fig 3.4 demonstrates how such active translation and interpretation was

happening even at this early stage which preceded more focussed coding and analysis.

Isobel: I am stood outside this same building [fighting tears again] with such disdain for what it has become [listening I can hear/feel her pain – kind of heartbroken at what has become of the system]. I don't respect our parliamentary system anymore. I don't respect the politicians that are in charge and I am so angry about it. I am stood there with this 10 year old girl inside me remembering everything that I felt all those years ago and how I feel now and I don't know when it changed and I don't know what happened to make it how it is now [listening to the hurt in her voice as she replays those feelings from the march]. I was in sobs of tears, as you can probably tell from [laughs, but can hear the tears] as I looked at the palace of Westminster, knowing that our politicians were in there debating the very thing that we were marching about.

Figure 3.4 *Excerpt of interview transcript with non-verbal cues highlighted*

Notations about tone, inflection, and laughter, among other paralinguistic features, were supplemented with the researcher's ongoing interpretation and reflection of what these features could mean to the interviewee. This activity proved to be an invaluable reminder of points of interest when the transcript was later analysed; had the transcripts only consisted of the words spoken such nuances of meaning-making and embodiment or enactment could not have been examined and analysed. Words in themselves are only part of the story being relayed when affective practices also need to be inferred from what people are saying, for example, from the emotion-laden manner in which an activity was engaged (McCreanor, Wetherell, McConville, Moewaka Barnes, & Moewaka Barnes, 2019;

Wetherell, 2012). Accuracy, authenticity and validity are contingent on listening for emotion, documenting the unspoken and constantly re-engaging with the primary data source (Ahmed, 2004a; Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019; Rapley, 2007). As the majority of interviews were by telephone, the transcripts were a closer representation of the interview encounters as they relied on spoken word and sound alone; visual cues did not need to be captured descriptively in the transcript because they were absent from the interaction. It should be noted that, while transcripts were verbatim, and analysed as such, the use of ellipsis ("...") within quotes is used throughout the thesis. This denotes where words have been removed, rather than a participant pausing, for the purposes of demonstration; rather than include a long quote where interviewees recounted storified examples or followed a tangent of thinking and then returned to the original point of discussion.

Analysing Data Using Thematic Analysis

The transcribed interviews were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019) which is an iterative process that began with data familiarisation and ended with the writing up of findings. As an analytical process it proved an invaluable approach because analysis is not proposed as a linear process, as Fig 3.5 indicates, instead it is expected that the depicted ‘steps’ may be combined, happen simultaneously or feed into each other sequentially (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019). The design of this research, and choice of case studies, required flexibility as familiarisation, which began during transcription, was initiated at an earlier stage than the successive analysis. After each round of interviews and transcription the preparation for the subsequent case study began, followed by fieldwork and an intense period of concurrent recruitment and interviewing (as these

were to be completed within a month of each event). In an effort to afford some continuity, notes were made of points of interest on both the transcript and in more detail as ongoing memos.

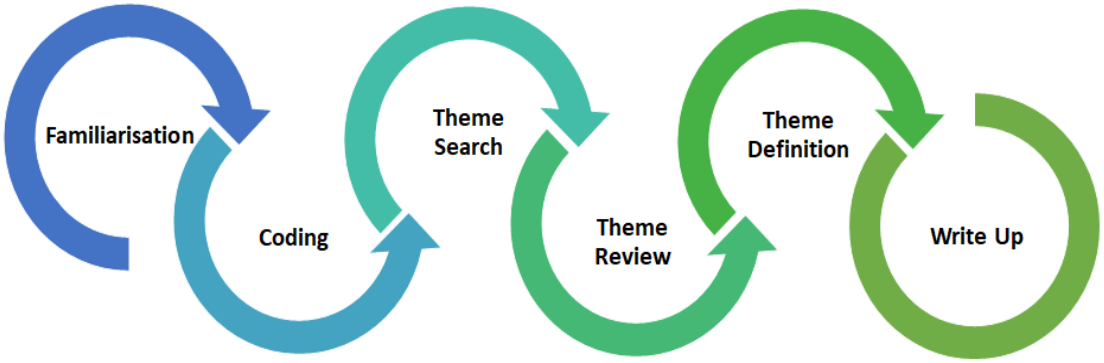


Figure 3.5 *Reflexive Thematic Analysis Process (Braun & Clarke, 2019)*

On completion of the final case study interviews, re-familiarisation with the first case study data was commenced. The decision not to immediately transcribe those interviews was done in order to minimise, not erase, their influence on interpretation of the first case study. It was impossible to ignore new knowledge gained, in relation to the ongoing Brexit issue and associated emotional practices, however a lack of familiarity with the corpus of data was beneficial at this stage. In this research, as with any qualitative analysis, a distinction between data collection and analysis should not be overstated as such separation would be artificial (Madill & Gough, 2008). Analysis began during data collection and there was value in being able to consider previously collected data in light of newly gained knowledge. For example, some social practices were understood as unique to one event but were later revealed to be managed features of associated events.

Returning to the process of familiarisation was aided by the existing memos and transcripts which could be revised as the audio files were listened to again. After

this process was undertaken for each interview the coding of the data, using NVivo, was commenced. Coding was a rigorous and methodical procedure and is an essential starting point for most qualitative, abductive analysis. The process immersed me in the data so that I could “remain with the phenomenon and try to form as many links and hypotheses as possible in light of [my] theoretically positioned knowledge” (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 177). Each interview transcript was read line by line and excerpts were highlighted and assigned a code or ‘pithy label’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019). Coded data could then be assigned multiple descriptive labels and multiple lines, or quotes, were collated under these descriptive labels. This process was assisted by NVivo qualitative data analysis software (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 12, 2019) which was employed to code and organise collected data (QSR International, 2021). As part of this, the ongoing memos could be uploaded and linked to each interview within NVivo for later consultation. As can be seen in the extract from Isobel’s interview, Fig 3.4 above, participants often described, compared, contrasted and re-lived their own and other peoples’ emotion and affects through detailed narratives of events, situations and interactions. There was minimal use of conventional emotion labels (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Sauerborn, 2019; Wetherell, 2012). Consequently, a discourse analysis approach that examined transcripts for the functions of “emotion talk” (Edwards, 1999) or an approach aiming to quantify emotional language or labels would have been limited and unfruitful. Rather coding involved identifying the practice of discursively constructing affective, and affected, bodies, practice and interactions (Berg, von Scheve, Yasemin Ural, & Walter-Jochum, 2019). This assisted the creation of themes that developed a nuanced understanding of how people made

sense of affect informed by researcher interpretation and underpinned by theoretical knowledge and reflexivity.

The complete coding of all interviews, within a case study, created hundreds of codes which were further scrutinised for any duplications, similarities or isolated examples which could potentially be re-coded or combined. It was during the refining of codes that the focus shifted between individual interviews to the corpus of data and the creation of themes began. Importantly, themes were constructed and generated by the researcher rather than emerging from, or being found in, the data. While the codes were being grouped together or themed, this was not a way to categorise elements that constitute a shared topic but rather shared meaning and the diversity of meaning within a topic; creating an intersection between the data and theoretical knowing (Braun & Clarke, 2019).

The concepts of togetherness and affective arrangements were salient while generating these themes because participant accounts included reflections and descriptions that were framed in terms of group dynamics. For example Remain versus Leave, and the change of emotion over time and place such as describing how they remembered feeling at one location compared to another or remembered feelings of a sense of we-ness at a specific point in time. Ordering themes chronologically as occurring before, during and after the event and sequential ordering of themes associated with each specific event helped to structure the analysis. This analytical framework began with participants' journeys to the event, recollections about time points and locations during it and their experience afterwards. Where codes did not fit into this chronology, such as when interviewees discussed happenings and emotions surrounding the SJE, separate themes were

created which were used to understand other features and properties of emotion in groups and collectives (such as contextual and relational factors).

During this stage of analysis and coding in the Pride case study it became clear that a chronological format could not be utilised in the same way as the anti-Brexit studies; the event itself could be understood, and represented, in terms of locations at the event but locating a shared point in time to start from, before the parade, was impossible. This was because there was no collectively experienced, definitive event akin to the 2016 referendum. Interviewees had their own introduction to Pride parades at different points within their individual histories, in different cities and even in different countries or cultural contexts. However, for the most part, there were experiential similarities in their personal histories as LGBTQ+ individuals that they drew on, such as discrimination and coming out, that shaped how they made sense of the Pride parade. For the final case study it was valuable to structure the data analysis chronologically; as a longitudinal aspect of the research, the event followed on from the first case study and could be mapped as such, as well as, triangulating accounts from new participants with the previous ones. Doing so allowed new insights to be created with the addition of new details to the existing corpus of data and previous conclusions developed and strengthened with the addition of supporting, or contrary, accounts.

When all codes had been collated within the created themes, each coded item within that theme was double-checked. Focussing on the individually coded pieces of transcript and notes was the opportunity to confirm their suitability within each theme. At this point, coding errors were identified and corrected, as well as, items re-coded, moved or further coded. Throughout, a detailed log or ‘audit trail’ (Rapley, 2007) was kept of the evolving themes and movements of codes in NVivo; this was

in the form of an ongoing, daily spreadsheet listing themes along with the associated codes and notations of changes made. Daily record-keeping, and an associated NVivo file, allowed for each theme and code to be checked systematically and steps to be reversed if necessary.

The hierarchical layout of NVivo was a drawback when visualising connections between themes so this was done manually. All themes, rather than the codes within them, were written onto slips of paper so that they could be seen as a full thematic map in which elements could be moved around and connections between themes identified. Written definitions were created for each theme and in doing this they were re-shaped as the codes within them were reviewed for appropriateness. Connections between themes were also identified, where it became evident that they were telling very similar stories or were intrinsically linked; this provided a second opportunity to refine the coded data through the further revision, re-coding or merging of both codes and themes. While each theme was comprised of a multitude of relevant quotes from the interviews these were further condensed, in a separate word document, to a list of excerpts that best demonstrated each theme or suggested a narrative within it.

The themed data became the framework of understanding for how each event unfolded and participants made sense of them. The theoretical framework assisted in situating interviewee expertise in existing theory and could be used to compare and contrast this with the broader literature on group dynamics, emotion and collective action. The list of extracts, and associated notes, were then analysed in more depth in order to discern their association with elements of the theoretical framework. Extracts chosen for inclusion in the writing up stage were those that evidenced a theme in compelling and vivid ways (Braun & Clarke, 2006) whilst also

being able to provide insight into components identified within the theoretical framework and other phenomena that had previously been linked with particular theories such as discussions of effervescence, unity and togetherness.

Initially, the decision to use a comparative case study approach informed how the research would be presented in this thesis; investigating how emotion changed in relation to a specific SJE and then comparing this across events. As this undoubtedly influenced how the data analysis was performed and the order in which it was conducted this reinforced the decision to present the findings as isolated case studies. At each stage the cases were conceived of as separate entities happening independently of each other which meant they had their own unique histories, goals and affective tone (comprised of habitus and practice). It was felt that amalgamating them, such as time-specific chapters along the lines of before, during and after, drawing upon the data from all events, would remove their distinctiveness and suggest them as potentially interchangeable.

For these reasons, each case study begins with a discussion of their respective socio-political contexts and event formats, provides information about the interviewees, details the results of the thematic analysis for that event and ends with a brief conclusion. They are followed by separate discussion and conclusion chapters that explore the findings across the case studies and relates them back to the extant literature and the research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis. It should also be noted that during the writing up process it became clear that the use of participant numbers was dehumanising, which seemed inappropriate when discussing emotion, so each number was replaced with a pseudonym. These were randomly chosen by the researcher and added a further layer of anonymity as their

connection to participant information could only be accessed through password-protected documents.

Summary

This chapter established how a critical realist approach was adopted using pluralistic methodology and justified their suitability in the investigation of collective emotions and affects as social phenomena. Key elements of this research were understanding the embodied manifestation and participants' meaning-making of emotion, as well as, documenting emotional behaviour of social collectives at SJEs. This was gained from the triangulation and reflexive thematic analysis of descriptive accounts provided by interviewees and sequential analysis of video footage. As will be seen throughout the case studies there is a general pattern or relationship between temporal and spatial features of these concepts with emotional habitus relating to time preceding each event, affective practice and arrangement to the event and togetherness being temporally and spatially variable. This generality must be emphasised because, as each of these concepts acknowledges, micro- and macro-level social phenomena are not isolated from one another. How they influence one another is part of the analysis but the salience of different concepts varies as a result of interviewee accounts.

Chapter 4 : Put it to the People March, London (March 2019)

This first case study investigates collective emotions in the context of the 'Put it to the People March' (PPM) which was a demonstration, opposing the British exit from the European Union (Brexit), held in London on the 23rd of March 2019. After a brief overview of the social and political background to Brexit investigation will turn to accounts of those involved in this large-scale SJE. Interviewee responses to the referendum acted as a starting point to explore how various affective features and properties of the protest influenced group-based and collective emotion and the sense that attendees made of their affect-laden behaviours and experience. The chapter explores the role of shared and collective emotion immediately before, during and after the SJE.

Brexit and the People's Vote Movement

On the 23rd of June 2016, a referendum was held in the UK to determine if UK citizens wanted to continue membership of the European Union (EU). A slim majority of the vote, 51.9%, was cast in favour of the move to leave the EU. Brexit is an issue that has affectively polarised UK society since 2016 with strong loyalties building around either retaining or rescinding membership of the EU; the Remain(ers) or Leave(rs) position, respectively (Curtice, 2018; Evans & Schaffner, 2019; Hobolt, 2016; Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020; Meredith & Richardson, 2019). Reports published about the 2016 referendum have evidenced the shock experienced by many in response to the referendum result (Chadha, 2016; Ferbrache & MacClancy, 2021; Hughes, 2019; Jackson, Thorsen, & Wring, 2016; Seidler, 2018). Online focus groups with Remainers, held by YouGov.co.uk a month after the referendum, found that this initial shock transformed into grief and anger (Latter, 2016) as anti-Brexit

sentiments were derided by Leave supporters and divisions on political opinions became entrenched (Hughes, 2019; Seidler, 2018).

The referendum incited much controversy, publically and within the political establishment, over the binary format, the conduct of the preceding debate, causes and consequences of the outcome and about the terms on which the UK should leave the EU (Ford & Goodwin, 2017). Pro-Brexit sentiment was found to be strongest in more economically disadvantaged, white communities with below average education that had experienced an influx of EU migrants in the preceding decade (Goodwin & Heath, 2016; Stratton, 2019). Opponents of Brexit have attributed support in these communities to the incitement of fear, by pro-Leave campaigners and the media, about increased immigration and EU bureaucracy (Cromby, 2018; Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020; Hughes, 2019). These fears have been attributed to the exacerbation of an embedded (English) cultural trauma related to fears of invasion, occupation and loss of sovereignty (Stratton, 2019).

Another consequence of the referendum result was the immediate resignation of the prime minister, David Cameron, and the subsequent appointment of Theresa May. Further, as the situation unfolded, the initial exit date became extended from October 2018 to March 2019. The fractious and febrile socio-political environment led to the erosion of public trust in the government (Jennings, 2021) and protests being held either demanding Brexit be delivered or that, at a minimum, a confirmatory, second referendum should be ‘put to the people’. Protests were held in many UK regions with the largest gatherings in London attracting tens of thousands of attendees in July 2016 (British Broadcasting Company, 2016b) and approximately 50,000 in September 2017 (The Irish Times, 2017). There were concerns about ideological conflicts between pro-European groups (Davidson, 2017) which led

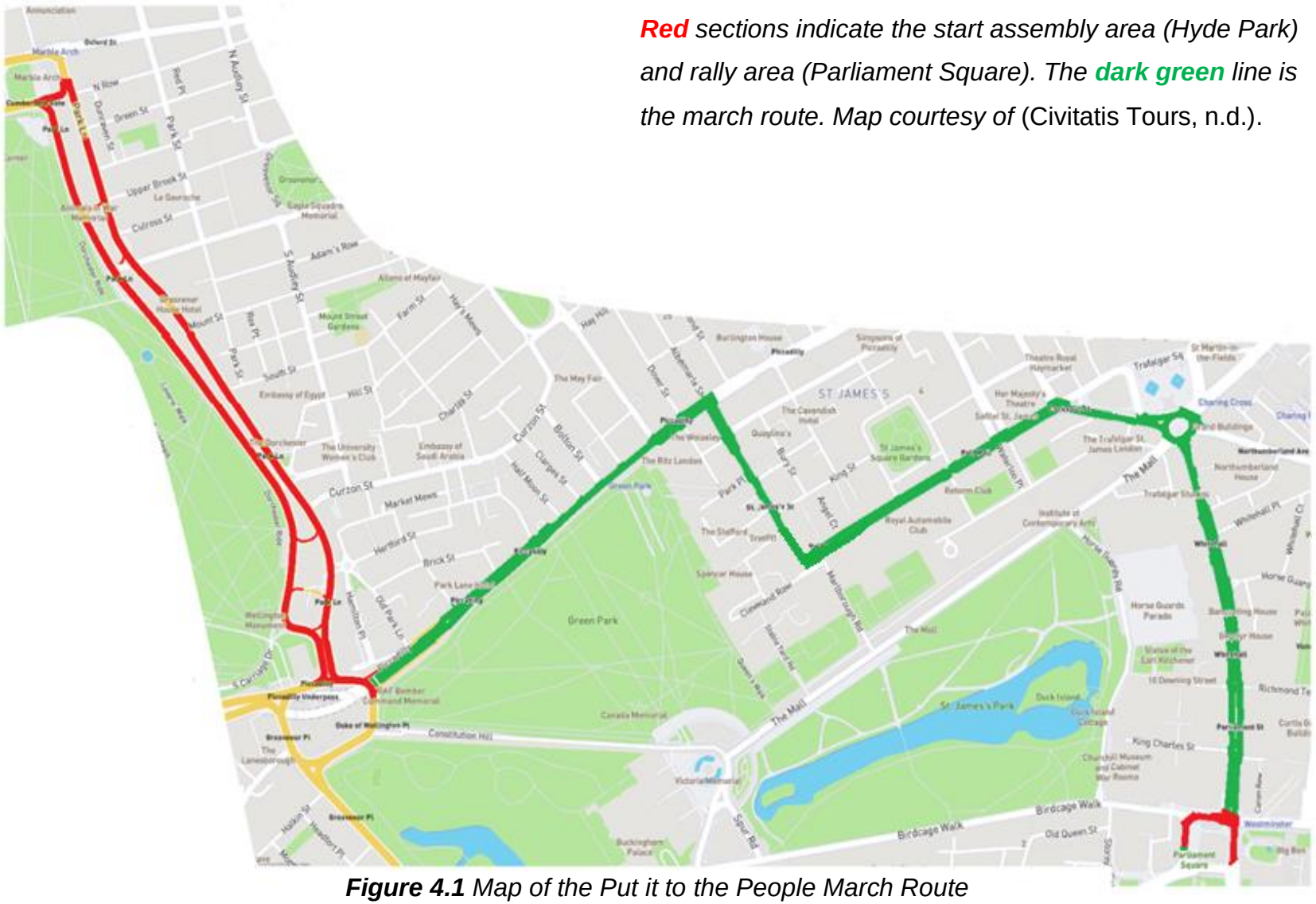
Chuka Umunna and colleagues to establish the grassroots co-ordinating group in February 2018 (Forrester, 2018; Mason, 2018).

Subsequently, the People's Vote campaign was launched in April 2018; a single-issue group pursuing a second referendum because, as stated by MP Layla Moran, "whether you voted to Leave or Remain... there is nothing more democratic than allowing the people to accept or reject a deal that will affect our country for decades to come" (British Broadcasting Company, 2018). Pro-Remain marches were held across the country, although the largest marches were in the capital city, with the first People's Vote event in London being held on the 23rd of June 2018 (Rao, 2018). The consistent, official aim of these events was the right to have a vote on the final Brexit deal and this was maintained throughout successive large-scale London marches (People's Vote, 2018) such as those held in June (Rao, 2018) and October 2018 (Gallagher, 2018; Malnick, 2019). Peaceful as these protests were they garnered condemnation from Brexit supporters as being "hate-filled" (Gye, 2018), undemocratic and divisive (O'Neill, 2019).

The PPM, the focus of this case study, was the third large-scale march organised by the People's Vote campaign. This was expected to attract larger numbers of Remain supporters, than prior iterations, with hundreds of thousands being expected to attend (Ashman, 2019; Cecil & Proctor, 2019). While there was debate over the exact numbers of attendees at the marches held during 2018 there had been a steady increase (Gallagher, 2018; Malnick, 2019; Rao, 2018). This could be the result of increased regional activity, as well as, support from celebrities such as Patrick Stewart, Delia Smith and Sandi Toksvig; some of whom helped fund transport for attendees (The Scotsman, 2018) and others who publically voiced their anti-Brexit stance in the media and at the marches (British Broadcasting Company,

2018; Gallagher, 2018). The PPM was held a couple of days before the rescheduled Brexit deadline on March 31st 2019 and, as with the previous marches, anyone was free to attend. The procession began at Park Lane/Hyde Park Corner and culminated in a rally in Parliament Square (see Fig. 4.1). Organisers had anticipated that not everyone would be able to access the rally, possibly knowledge gained from the prior marches, and had erected large television screens along Whitehall. As a result, marchers were able to watch campaign videos and speeches which began at 2pm (roughly two hours after the march set off from Hyde Park).

The physical march is the focal point of this chapter, however, it was not considered as an SJE isolated in time or from its socio-political context. Background emotions that interviewees associated with this specific SJE are discussed at the beginning of the data analysis to contextualise the sense they made of the PPM. As will be shown, their emotional responses to the unfavourable referendum result acted in particular ways to motivate their participation in collective action. In turn, this shaped the affective practices within the event which directly influenced their sense of being part of an emotional collective. The format of this case study will evidence how patterns of emotion and affect transformed over time, the influence this had on the cohesiveness of the group and manifestation of collective emotion at the event. Discussion throughout will relate findings to existing literature and theoretical concepts to begin to answer the research questions and objectives outlined earlier in the thesis.



Red *sections indicate the start assembly area (Hyde Park) and rally area (Parliament Square). The* ***dark green*** *line is the march route. Map courtesy of* (Civitatis Tours, n.d.).

Figure 4.1 *Map of the Put it to the People March Route*

Method

While the specific methods are laid out in Chapter 3, it is useful to briefly reiterate information specific to this case study and also provide information about the participants involved. After this, the analysis of the collected data and theme discussion will be presented.

Recruitment and Participants

This case study included both prospective and retrospective interviews with twenty-eight PPM attendees. Twelve participants were recruited through advertisements placed on social media and interviewed in the month prior to the event. This meant that motivations to participate in collective action and background emotional context could be explored without the potential revision that may occur as a result of attending the SJE. Ten were re-interviewed in the two weeks following the protest, about their experience (two participants did not attend the march). A further sixteen individuals were interviewed once in the month after the march.

Of the twenty-eight people who were interviewed: all who were eligible to vote in the 2016 referendum voted “Remain” and three reported that they would have voted this way had they been eligible. There was an equal gender split among participants, three-quarters were aged between 36 and 55 and the rest were over 55. All were resident in England, except Helen who had recently moved to the EU, although not all were English-born. As indicated by their specified professions or in answer to biographical interviews questions, 26 were educated to undergraduate level or above. Table 4.1 also summarizes participants’ nationalities, counties of residence, their history of participation in previous marches and how politically active they considered themselves.

Alias	Occupation	Nationality	Current Residence	Gender	Age Range	Politically Active	Attended October 2018 March	Attended March 2019 March	Interview Method (Before March)	Interview Method (After March)
Karen	Office Manager (Research)	UK	West Midlands	Female	36-45	Past 10yrs	Yes	No	In Person	n/a
Colin	Research (Theology)	UK	East Midlands	Male	56-65	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	Telephone	In Person
Richard	Unknown	UK	North East	Male	26-35	Past 10yrs	No	Yes	Telephone	Telephone
Ryan	Research (Social Psych)	International	West Midlands	Male	46-55	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	In Person	In Person
Bill	Research (Global Security)	UK	West Midlands	Male	36-45	Most of My Life	No	Yes	In Person	In Person
Robert	Statistics	UK	West Midlands	Male	36-45	Since EU Ref	Yes	Yes	In Person	In Person
Heidi	Retired	Europe	East Midlands	Female	56-65	Since EU Ref	No	Yes	Telephone	Telephone
Anne	Teaching Prof. (Retired)	UK	West Midlands	Female	65+	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	In Person	In Person
Yvette	Civil Service	UK	North West	Female	56-65	Since EU Ref	Yes	Yes	Telephone	Telephone
Mark	Business Professional	UK	South East	Male	26-35	Most of My Life	No	Yes	Telephone	Telephone
Freja	Civil Service	Europe	West Midlands	Female	36-45	Past 5yrs	Yes	No	In Person	n/a
Sid	Journalist	International	South East	Male	36-45	Most of My Life	No	Yes	Telephone	Telephone
Wayne	Lecturer/Research (Social Psych)	UK	South West	Male	46-55	Most of My Life	No	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Kate	Teaching Professional	UK	North East	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Louise	Civil Service	UK	North West	Female	56-65	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Tracey	Researcher & Coach (Business)	UK	West Midlands	Female	36-45	Since EU Ref	No	Yes	n/a	In Person
Oscar	Engineering	UK	South East	Male	56-65	Since EU Ref	Yes	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Natalie	Student (Postgraduate)	UK	West Midlands	Female	26-35	Past 10yrs	No	Yes	n/a	In Person
Thomas	Trained Photographer	UK	North East	Male	36-45	Since EU Ref	No	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Shirley	Civil Service	UK	North East	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	No	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Jill	Civil Service	UK	East Midlands	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	No	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Harry	Unknown	UK	North East	Male	56-65	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Helen	Teaching Professional	UK	Germany	Female	36-45	Most of My Life	No	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Joseph	Health Professional	UK	West Midlands	Male	56-65	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	n/a	In Person
Beth	Management Consultant	UK	North East	Female	46-55	Past 10yrs	Yes	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Victoria	Lecturer/Research (Crowd Safety)	UK	West Midlands	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	No	Yes	n/a	In Person
Leslie	Housing Refugees in the UK	UK	North East	Male	56-65	Since EU Ref	Yes	Yes	n/a	Telephone
Darren	Managing Director (Research)	UK	West Midlands	Male	65+	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	n/a	In Person

Table 4.1 Participant Information (PPM)

Data Collection and Analysis

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in person (59%), by telephone (37%) or using both methods (4%) and the average duration was an hour. Questions covered feelings in response to, and since, the referendum, reasons for going to the SJE and thoughts about its importance and possible impact. Interviewees were also asked about theirs and the perception of others' emotions and experience at the march (See Appendix O and P). Interviews were transcribed verbatim including paralinguistic features such as tone of voice, laughter or other sounds conveying emotion (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019; Rapley, 2007). The transcribed interviews were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019) with particular attention paid to features and properties that indicated group and collective emotion in the later stages of the analytical process. No attempt was made to force ideas and concepts out of the data, however, the chronological order of emotional experience (i.e. before, during, after the march) was developed as an appropriate structure for how the data would be reported.

Focussed ethnographic fieldwork consisted of the researcher attending the protest to video record the event and take field notes. Video recordings and field notes taken on location were useful in triangulating events and behaviours described in participant testimonies (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014; Denzin, 1978) alongside media reports of the march for those items not experienced, or filmed, by the researcher. As explained in Chapter 3, in this case study, the interviewer and interviewee had both attended the march (i.e. a shared experience) which was a source of shared knowledge that was useful when building rapport during interviews and allowed the researcher to better relate to topics of conversation about the physical event (Plows, 2008; Roberts, 2014; Shaw, 2010).

Analysis and Discussion of Themes

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the UK had decided, by a slim majority vote, that Britain should exit the EU. The shock and controversy surrounding this result was the catalyst to collective action being organised throughout the UK and this SJE was just one example in a series of anti-Brexit demonstrations. Interviews with attendees in this case study provide support for the media and academic reports of the negative emotions experienced by Remain supporters as a result of the referendum (Chadha, 2016; Ferbrache & MacClancy, 2021; Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020; Hughes, 2019; Jackson, Thorsen, & Wring, 2016). Where the analysis and discussion go further in this study is demonstrating how the change of emotion over time spurred people into action and shaped the practice of emotion within the protest. Furthermore, as the topic of interest is collective emotion, findings extend existing theory of group emotion to the specific context of Brexit and develop them in line with the theoretical framework devised for this research. While each of the research questions are addressed to some extent in this chapter, the majority of the findings are related to how transforming emotion is managed over time and the influence this has on perceiving oneself, and others, as part of a cohesive group.

Antecedents of Anti-Brexit Action

Responding to Loss rather than Losing

Participant accounts included recollections about how reactions to the referendum result were expressed, and shared, with others. Leslie described how he “went in to work as normal. But it was shattering. And the atmosphere at work, because you know I'm among fairly like-minded people as I discovered, it was almost funereal”. This was echoed by Natalie “I remember very vividly going into my office

at the time… we were all just completely depressed, [we] didn't do any work". These descriptions highlight a perceptible, felt difference in their work environment, compared to the atmosphere of a normal working day. The solemnity was not necessarily about visible demonstrations of consciously shared grief rather it was embodied, at least according to Leslie and Natalie, in ways that were, consciously or not, less upbeat and more disengaged than normal.

It could be argued that such accounts reflect the projection of ones own feelings onto others as this would serve to validate their own shock and grief-laden response to the referendum result. However, many participants spoke of emotion in ways that signified it went beyond the social appraisal of others to gauge their emotional orientation to the event (Manstead & Fischer, 2001; Parkinson, 2020). Accounts were of emotion being shared in more physical and intense ways:

> [Felt] physically sick. Yeah I just remember the day as plain as yesterday. I was going to a training course with a colleague… I picked her up that morning, the next day… we just cried all the way to the training course in the car. (Kate)

This demonstrates the role of sharing of emotion that moves beyond individual perceptions of atmospheres or moods (Anderson, 2009; 2014; de Rivera, 1992) that may contribute to an emerging collective negative emotion articulated as a mix of shock, anger and despair. This sharing of emotion was talked about by a few participants and involved partners, friends or work colleagues. Similarly, Bill spoke about his recollection of the morning after, "I remember it very clearly because both me and my wife we did shed a tear. We were very sad… She was upset and quite visibly shaken". In both cases emotions were being consciously shared and expressed. The use of "visibly shaken" (Bill) and "physically sick" (Kate and Karen)

demonstrate how language is used to describe embodied affects to capture the complexity of emotional experience. Had analysis been restricted to prescriptive emotion labels these are expressions that are likely to have been overlooked or, had less open questions been used, this would be missing from the data collected which means the subsequent analysis would be absent these affective features (Wetherell, McConville, & McCreanor, 2019).

Further, as mentioned by both Bill and Kate, actual physical tears were shed and shared with another person present. Sharing emotion in relation to negative events helps to strengthen social bonds by validating personal response (Rimé, 2009) and acts as a cathartic process (Bylsma, Vingerhoets, & Rottenberg, 2008). This type of sharing has been identified as 'communal coping' where a stressful situation is socially appraised, by more than one individual, as a shared stressor and collaboratively coping is considered beneficial (Lyons, Mickelson, Sullivan, & Coyne, 1998). Emotional sharing in this way would have helped people to adjust to the expected widespread changes to come as a result of Brexit being enacted. Furthermore, at the same time as validating their own feelings they would be able to provide and accept support from someone similarly affected which has been demonstrated to be important in managing grief and trauma (Karin Falconier & Kuhn, 2019; Páez, Basabe, Ubillos, & González-Castro, 2007).

Complementing the emotions recounted as immediate responses to the referendum result, descriptions of shock transformed into other feelings, such as grief, fear and anger about the situation (Ferbrache & MacClancy, 2021; Latter, 2016). Common emotional descriptions, by participants, were those of grief and anger which are emotions that have been shown to be motivators in collective mobilisation (Britt & Heise, 2000; Gould, 2009). Similarly, shock transforming to

anger, as opposed to grief or dread, has been identified as a mobilising emotional process (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001). Interviewees provided a variety of reasons for being "at a different level of grief and loss [to that immediately after the result]… a more numb, depressed, acceptance stage that Brexit is probably going to happen and it's going to be an absolute fucking disaster" (Wayne). This quote shows an interesting mix of grief, anger and acceptance and indicates another reason for feelings of grief; that of loss. For many, this related to the loss of the UK they knew but also at their rights and identity as EU citizens. While some spoke of personal grief it would be remiss to restrict analysis to the feelings of individuals because accounts often relayed and made sense of the experience as being group-relevant emotion:

> Now we've got a situation where we're devastated about the loss of what we see as the soul of our country really. It's lost what I thought it was and that's really hard to, really hard to take. We sort of think that maybe we've done better at being a liberal, outward-looking, tolerant, caring country. Kind of realizing now that an awful lot of people aren't. Usually the people with power. (Louise)

Here Louise explains these feelings as being because the national image or "the soul" of the UK is being challenged; one that has been built up over time to create a psychological group understood to have similar values and beliefs (Reicher, 2011). It is a national identity, rather than nationalist, where the personal self and others are perceived as belonging to a shared social identity (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020), that many participants cleaved to, and that is being usurped or taken away. The feelings of loss and grief go beyond individual loss as they are attributed to a "we" and expressed in a manner that suggests they are collectively

owned (León & Zahavi, 2018; Salmela & Nagatsu, 2016). Louise's comment follows on from her talking about the Remain campaign not utilising emotion as effectively as the Leave campaign and the "situation" this has left the Remain supporters in. The inability of both campaigns to integrate debates grounded in emotion and fact has been critiqued and, in particular, that the Remain campaign "failed to connect to other arguments than those of economic benefits" (Forss & Magro, 2016, p. 16). Louise's mention of "we're devastated about the loss" indicates group emotion and could be indicative of her previous involvement in local rallies, before the PPM, where expectations about the referendum result and its meaning could be shared. As this is the account of one individual the conclusion being drawn is not that this is a collective grief. The inference being made is that this is constructed and presented as a widely shared, emotional group response to the loss of values that were believed to belong, or were inherent, to the nation as a collective.

Louise also insinuates that the Leave supporters do not hold positive and progressive values by excluding them from the "we"; they would be the "awful lot of people" who are not like that. Using language to explicitly define positive in-group characteristics is a rhetorical strategy that implies the opposite to be true for an out-groups (Hornsey, 2008). Therefore, Louise is constructing Leave supporters as conservative, inward-looking, intolerant and uncaring which is a practice that mimics online interactions from both sides of the Brexit debate (Meredith & Richardson, 2019). This could be considered a discursive affective practice where language is utilised to create divisions of virtue that can be applied to groups of people and reshapes how they relate to each other rather than just their stance on a single issue (McCreanor, Wetherell, McConville, Moewaka Barnes, & Moewaka Barnes, 2019). Such a practice positions Leavers in a way that elicits feelings of justified contempt

as they are the group promoting division through their values and actions. While not explicit, this bolsters feelings of pride towards ones own group as they are responding appropriately as a group to this change and feelings of anger, or disgust, at the out-group for creating this situation.

Anger was often discussed by participants, however, it was not recounted as being a shared or collective experience and it was expressed about a variety of sources. This is not to suggest that it did not manifest collectively as opportunities to share this anger with others, at local anti-Brexit rallies or online for example, could arise as was the case for expressing loss. Robert was angry that they had lost the means to discuss what would happen next, “I'm losing a lot of rights, a lot of freedoms… I have no say in it and that does make me quite angry”. The anger here is about the lack of individual agency not just the loss of rights and freedom; this can be attributed to others within the collective because Robert is not the only one suffering these losses. This means that there were various emotional responses to, and since, the referendum result, which were associated with perceived loss. Similarly, participants spoke about this as being something they had been subject to immediately after the result and up until the present day:

> It did really piss me off that the way the right and the press in the UK were basically saying if you voted remain, basically, shut up. Don’t complain, it was the Remoaners kind of working up of that. Positioned you, if you said well I’m not happy with the result (Ryan)

This was a sentiment that was echoed by many participants when they were talking about the impact of the EU referendum. Whether talking about the reaction of friends, family, work colleagues or social media commentary, they felt that their thoughts and feelings were unheard, dismissed or even unacceptable. This silencing

extends to the way that politicians and the media portrayed those who unsupportive of Brexit as betraying the “will of the people” (Freedland, 2019). This is another reason to feel anger at the current environment and about what they have lost. The people not being listened to are the same people that felt that their voice was important in the previously progressive UK. The unquestionable right to speak freely had been taken away from them for not being on the winning side.

Many have expressed this as anger, however, indignation may be a more appropriate way of understanding this. There are parallels with Gould’s (2009) descriptions of white, middle-class, gay males and how they felt during the AIDS crisis throughout the 1980’s and ‘90’s; anger at perceived injustice. She describes this as “a form of outrage that stems from being spurned or rejected after having thought that you were a member of the club and thus entitled to membership rights and privileges” (p. 143). Captured here is the response to social position and benefits being withdrawn that participants are describing; loss of EU citizenship, loss of status as the majority who promote progressive values and loss of the society they, as that majority, were building. This is an example of an affective practice, comprised of feelings of entitlement and belonging, used to preserve ethnic and cultural supremacy termed “affective-discursive privilege” (McConville, Wetherell, McCreanor, Borrell, & Moewaka Barnes, 2020). Here, it evokes a sense of moral superiority where Remainers position themselves as being more deserving of acknowledgement, for their progressive values and beliefs (i.e. they did have moral supremacy), but they were experiencing anger or indignation because this had been reversed. This does not invalidate their experiences of the emotions discussed or disparage their mobilisation to protest Brexit; this interpretation highlights the complexity of these emotions and the various facets involved. The manifestation of

anger and indignation over time may be because these are considered reactionary or reflex emotions; responses to external events that are cognitively-informed emotions (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2004) involving appraisal of a situation prior to collective action (Klandermans, 2004).

Emotional Burden and Avoiding Shame

Models of collective action consider emotion to be a source of motivation (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) and other research has found emotion and motivation are very much intertwined (Lambert, Scherer, Rogers, & Jacoby, 2009; van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2011). Interviewees provided justifications for attending that were often not expressed as emotional desires or reactions but rather considered, logical reasons that were emotion-laden and reflective of group-level commitment and concern (Tuomela, 2007; 2013). This possibly reflects an effort for participants to portray themselves as rational and fact-driven as opposed to irrational and emotion-driven (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Ransan-Cooper, Ercan, & Duus, 2018; Woods, Anderson, Guilbert, & Watkin, 2012).

Several participants' remarks suggested that they engaged in the collective action of the protest march despite it being unlikely that a second referendum could be achieved. However, there was also a more explicit recognition that the movement was about stopping Brexit. As Robert said, before going, he held reservations about what the march would achieve but "I still want to go down there and say I'm opposed to it. At least I can say to myself I've done everything I possibly can". There is a need to be able to live with ones own action, or inaction, in this situation or as another put it they had to "be able to look myself in the eye and say I did what I could" (Louise). In each case this was not about how others would perceive them but rather how they

would see themselves or be able to justify their own choice of behaviour to themselves. Shame is not explicitly mentioned, however, not being able to look someone in the eye, in the latter case themselves, is a behaviour that indicates it. Many interviewees discussed the importance of being involved in collective action in similar ways suggesting an affective practice of judgement. An awareness of judging, or potentially shaming, themselves if they had not made an effort to publically oppose Brexit; this is an enactment of values they associate with the identity of being a Remainer and pro-European.

Those who spoke about this after the event used phrasing that also indicated an element of individual pride for "being on the right side of history" and actively, publically challenging Brexit by attending the march:

> I feel that I am on the right side of history and I feel that I have done, and I am doing, everything that I possibly can to stop Brexit. … Whatever the outcome will be. But I feel, I feel good that if I hadn't been able, I hadn't done it, I would definitely have regretted it. (Yvette)

The evocation of history is important because "in crowds, people become the *subjects* of history" (Reicher, 2011, p. 446) in ways that are often impossible as an individual. This may be conceived in retrospect when aspects of the protest, like the attendance of a million people, became widely known which meant that it could be considered as a significant historical event or "memory-based bookmark" (Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009, p. 191) for the group and could not be denied by Leave supporters; a narrative that was employed by the pro-EU media reports of the event (Forest, 2019). However, it is likely that such sentiments were considered in advance of the march because they are often a key factor in being moved to act as part of a collective (Eyerman, 2005; Jasper, 2011; Reicher, 2011). There is also the

anticipation of regret and an expression of pride, “I feel good”, for having circumvented this. Collective action required a public display of allegiance, in that it was done with others, but none of the interviewees spoke about the pride, or shame, that attends their participation as being beyond themselves. They did not talk about wanting the positive judgement of others, such as other people attending the march, or even that of close friends or family.

Some participants spoke about attendance being a duty or an obligation; they did not describe their emotional connection to the march as being personal or emotionally valenced. The connection to shame may not be immediately obvious but, when considered in light of their own personal histories, the role of shame can become clearer:

> No it's a real sense of duty. So it wasn't about being excited or being thrilled or all looking for a hit. In the old days I can, I could, tell you about the Vietnam protests long before you were born, when it was. There was a real high. It was just a real adrenaline surge. But not now. Now it's resigned sense of real duty. (Darren)

Here there is a comparison to personal experiences of protesting for other causes which had been exciting, whereas, the upcoming march elicited a “resigned sense of duty”. Six participants constructed attendance as an obligation or a duty, including Darren and Victoria, and five of them described themselves as being politically active for most of their adult lives. This would suggest that standing up for their personal beliefs had become a sense of self as “protest can be a way of saying something about oneself and one’s morals, of finding joy and pride in them” (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001, p. 9). Expectations, imposed by society or oneself, are a source of personal pride and shame. This represents an “emotional burden” that has been

proposed by Goldenberg et al. (2014) as an explanation for participating in collective action. This feeling of individual responsibility is the desire to be a valuable group member through the furthering of group aims; this is heightened where there is an individual perception that the in-group collective emotional response is less than appropriate (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014). In this situation, actively expressing their discontent over Brexit meant they were meeting their self-imposed standards. Fulfilling this obligation circumvented potential feelings of individual shame and, on a group-level, these accounts indicate a desire to avoid group-related shame.

As there was concern and anger around an insecure, post-Brexit future it might be expected that PPM attendees would orient strongly towards preventing this outcome and group aims would then effectively be about changing this. Unexpectedly, many participants did not believe that the march was a vehicle for change, at least not that it would prevent Brexit from happening. This is not to say that change in this direction was an undesirable outcome but rather that, because of a seemingly intractable parliament comprised of a pro-Brexit majority, it was not seen as a realistic goal. This supports the claims that social movements and collective action are not just about achieving political change, they are also the opportunity to express one's views through, and with, a collective (Klandermans, 2004; Walgrave, Van Laer, Verhulst, & Wouters, 2013) and here one main goal was that of being heard:

> I don't want anybody here to think we're all going to roll over and die and let it happen without protesting. And you know if nobody's listening to us we'll go make ourselves heard. In whatever way we can and

> that's the most obvious way to make ourselves heard even if it doesn't achieve anything. (Louise)

A cursory analysis of this excerpt leads to conclusions of a desire to make others listen and an unwillingness to be consigned to a silent minority were motivating factors in participating in the protest. Individual voices are felt to be lost or ignored by the establishment which leads to the belief in the power of the voice(s) of many performed through public assemblage (Butler, 2015). In such gatherings the political message takes on a more tangible, complex and undeniable form (Lilja, 2017).

The move here from a personal desire to a collective imperative shows how there can be a confluence and potential for felt resonance of the 'I' and 'we' in a perceived shared aim. Louise does not want Remain supporters to be perceived or remembered as subservient or meek. Her emphasis is on what *she does not want for the group* rather than herself or expressing it in terms of how the group does not want to be perceived. This has been described by Tuomela (2007) as 'pro-group I-mode' or 'weak we-mode' which is a transitory stage (see Fig 2.3, Chapter 2) between individual and collective modes of being (see also Chapter 6). The concern could be understood to mean her goal, which is shared by others, is to protect the group from a negative portrayal and would be motivated by their indignation at their change in status as a previously privileged majority. Here is further evidence of the emotional burden of group membership; Louise feels a responsibility to take individual action that demonstrates the strength and resolve of Remain supporters as a collective. In effect, there is a concern of being perceived as passive and ineffectual because inaction would be tantamount to rolling over and playing dead; there is an implied desire to circumvent shame being attached to the group identity and maintain the pride of the group.

The analysis began by demonstrating how interviewee accounts indicated that the avoidance of potential personal shame was influential in their participation in the PPM. Developing this analysis further to consider how their accounts evidence the emotional dynamics of an (imagined) group I argue that judgement of oneself is associated with social obligation. This sense of responsibility is an emotional burden (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014) that is a direct product of identifying with the Remainer collective and the desire to be a contributing and valuable group member. At this point in time, preceding the protest, there are indications of "emotional dynamics between them lead[ing] to mutual influence and a development of a sense of identity, which contributes to unique macrolevel processes" (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020, p. 156). In these examples, participants believed that individual acts were necessary to maintain a positive group image (Hornsey, 2008).

The findings indicate the predominance of anger and other negative emotions in advance of the march which is consistent with research demonstrating group-based anger as a motivator to collective action (Britt & Heise, 2000; Gould, 2009; Stürmer & Simon, 2009; van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2011; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Over time, individual responses to the referendum transformed from shock at the result, to grief and indignation at the loss of rights and social status. An awareness of others who felt similarly meant that there were others they could share these feelings with. There was a growing sense of a social collective that they could identify with and, as a consequence, those who consider themselves members would seek to ensure that the identity that was forming was perceived favourably (Hornsey, 2008). There is evidence of emotional sharing, the coalescing of individuals around shared values and similarity of emotions across those who identify as group members. This suggests these

accounts refer to the move from I-mode to pro-group I-mode and the experience of group-based emotion in advance of the PPM. Collective emotion is not evident as we-mode is not fully realised and emotions are asynchronous (Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). It does, however, provide the background emotional context of the physical protest and exemplifies the complex role of emotion at SJEs (Szanto & Slaby, 2020).

Affective Spaces at the PPM

Analysis of the interview data indicated three main protest spaces or environments: the meeting point at Hyde Park where the protest began, the march to Parliament Square and the rally in Parliament Square (see Fig 4.1). Each was distinct because they afforded attendees different emotions which influenced how these spaces and co-present people were engaged with and experienced. Interviewee accounts were mainly considered in terms of shared social practice and identity because these elements “not only determine how mass affect is seen, it also guides the crowd’s affective action; the way it flows, the object it takes, the kind of affect displayed, and so on” (Wetherell, 2012, p. 148). With this in mind, the following format will follow a generally chronological structure of their emotional journeys on the day of the march. The main focus will be geographical location as this defined the physical limits that the march occupied, however, as became clear in the interviews, the march extended beyond that for some and began on their journey to it. Collective and group emotions will continue to be highlighted; the way they occurred and were experienced as people engaged in interactions and moved through, or occupied, spaces (e.g., to listen to pre-recorded videos and live speeches).

The Protest Begins by Cultivating Connections

While the majority of interviewees made their way to the PPM by their own means, usually travelling by train alone or with friends and family there were a few interviewees who travelled on coaches with their locally-organised, anti-Brexit groups. These were recounted as having “a really nice atmosphere” (Shirley) where “everybody was in good spirits and we were singing and just chatting” (Kate). The relaxed and convivial atmosphere was described by Jill as being similar to “everyone having two weeks from the factory and going to Blackpool kind of thing”. Comparable situations were described by those journeying there using public transport. Wayne commented on how positive and novel it felt to him because “I was sitting on a table at one point [due to how busy the train was] and during rush hour you wouldn't do that… but on that day it was fine because we're all together”. Clearly, it was experienced differently to an everyday train journey when overcrowding would evoke feelings of one’s personal space being invaded and possible claustrophobia. The sense of informality in these social situations demonstrates a sense of shared social identity among strangers, resulting from the shared negative event of Brexit, that is independent of identification with a shared group identity; feelings of ‘we-ness’, trust, and a desire for social intimacy that had developed towards others (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020).

Shared allegiances and like-mindedness were obvious in the way that others presented themselves which mean that even the anticipation of travelling on public transport was experienced as a more positive situation (Reicher, Templeton, Neville, Ferrari, & Drury, 2016; Simons, 2020):

> We arrived on the platform [and] we were just constantly meeting people draped in blue [EU] flags… There were loads of people getting

> on. They [the trains] were jammed out. So that was a fabulous feeling. [I] was just Oh my goodness! This is going to be something big and we're all here together. (Yvette)

The use of clothing, and other paraphernalia, has been shown to be an important element for football fans in the creation and expression of their private and collective selves (Derbaix & Decrop, 2011; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). Evidently, the same was the case for the PPM; the sense of being with like-minded others began as soon as they encountered people displaying their allegiance. The recognition of similarity engendered a sense of togetherness and awareness of resonating with one another, “we’re all together”, which turned the generally negative social situation, of congested public spaces, into one that was pleasurable and close physical proximity was less uncomfortable (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020; Novelli, Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2013; Reicher, Templeton, Neville, Ferrari, & Drury, 2016; Templeton, Drury, & Philippides, 2018).

The start of the march, for the majority of interviewees, was on Park Lane, next to Hyde Park (see left-hand side of Fig 4.1), which had been cordoned off between Marble Arch and Piccadilly. The carnival, festival feel of the whole event began as soon as people arrived; it was not just generated through the physical act of marching. People immediately felt at ease, they could express themselves and feel safe in the knowledge that “there were so many people there with EU flags and stickers and costumes. I just remember feeling really, really, really happy and also relieved” (Helen). There is an element of surprise, and relief, which was expressed by most participants because, from an emotional habitus point of view, they came into this event and crowd feeling initially uncertain and insecure. For those who had attended the march the previous October, it was not knowing if it would be as well

attended and anxiety around there not being the same support for a People's Vote. For those who had not been to a march before, it was not knowing what to expect; would there be anger, from other marchers or counter demonstrations? Would they be safe or could there be violence? Would they feel accepted?

Encountering such a positive situation, with so many people, as soon as they arrived meant that such fears could be, mostly, relinquished and they could relax and enjoy themselves. All interviewees recalled feelings of amazement, or pride, and even comfort at the amount of people that had made the effort to come to the march. What had been an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) became a physical reality of support and togetherness because "in effect, *crowds are the imagined community made manifest*" (Reicher, 2011, p. 441). Attendees entered a space created to facilitate positive, group-relevant emotion which exemplifies "affective arrangements [which] bundle, crystallize, intensify instances of affect, combining initially individualized or micro-relational affect into larger relational constellations" (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017, p. 11). Therefore the possibilities of what they can do and feel, their "political horizons" (Gould, 2009, p. 9), would be different to what they had been expecting.

As defined by Gould (2009), political horizons are shaped by emotional habitus and are consolidated and reproduced over time (p. 9). However, these accounts demonstrate that these horizons can be context-dependent and able to shift in more immediate ways that align with the dynamic and temporal nature of affect and its practices (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017; Wetherell, 2012). In this situation, for some participants who had not been at previous People's Vote marches, it may have been unimaginable that they could be political without the need to be en garde; the carnival of Hyde Park afforded them this. More seasoned

protesters or activists would be less fazed by such concerns, however, they still harboured worries with regard to numbers attending and the march being a good idea. Such doubts were alleviated on arrival in Hyde Park. The creation of an initial meeting space to foreground, emphasise and embody positivity through elements such as music and laughter suggests an almost strategic architecture to the protest space. Physical space and social practices were arranged to elicit and encourage positive feeling through socially affective and collaborative interactions (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017; Slaby & von Scheve, 2019).

One other concern, only mentioned by three interviewees, was in relation to reactions from the general public. Helen said she “was really nervous [travelling to the march]… I was wearing my EU t-shirt and I was really, really worried about getting some abuse from people on the way to check into our hotel”. Similar sentiments were voiced by Louise and Tracey and, although they were not subjected to confrontation, highlight that there are less positive aspects to being identifiable as a group member in a polarized political context. While signalling their position on Brexit to the in-group was a positive move, in terms of self-expression and collective identification, it also served to identify them to others who may not agree (Crossley, 2003; Derbaix & Decrop, 2011).

Interestingly, despite worries of being so exposed, none of them made efforts to hide or cover up their affiliation until they reached the march itself. When asked why she wore it, if she was fearful of confrontation, Helen said “I don't know. I still feel like I have to wear it because you know I want to make, yeah, because I want to make a political statement I guess”. As an embodied, and discursive, affective practice this suggests personal defiance and pride or, at least, a refusal of shame and an effort to reclaim their voice. This is consistent with the earlier discussion

around individual participation in collective action being motivated by a desire to avoid shame being attached to the group identified with. Consciously choosing to wear what could possibly be provocative apparel indicates this being an act of rebellion that was done to evoke emotional reactions in others. Stating that she felt “I have to wear it” is a further example of a less conscious, social obligation to wear it which could link to the emotional burden of preventing personal shame (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014). This link also demonstrates a distinct connection between the background emotional context and foreground practice of affect and emotional behaviour at the PPM.

Political statements were also being made at the meeting points using banners and placards, as with most protests, but there was an effort, possibly an expected group norm, to do so through humour, wit and intelligence:

> We were seeing lots of groups meeting, seeing lots of signs and banners and there was these guys on bikes and they were cycling and they had a radio which was like Don't Leave Me This Way or something. So it's like fun… Just as you were waiting. It's just really nice as you walk around isn't it? Looking at all the signs and all the inventiveness and just being amazed at how witty people are. (Tracey)

These practices embody the shared values and goals of the Remain position in ways that captivated and entertained fellow group members and which is explored further in Chapter 6. That these practices and behaviours were understood as embodied, physical demonstrations of group values could be gathered from considering the descriptions offered about the out-group. Sid and Oscar talked about their experiences of Leave demonstrations outside Parliament, “the body language, the words, the gestures, the attitude is less tolerant from the exit side compared to the

Remain side" (Sid). Similarly, Oscar, a self-styled Remain activist, recounted a part of his journey to the PPM where "our way was blocked by a lot of shouty, aggressive people. I got a death threat gestured at me". At least half of the participants drew on negative, personal interactions, online and offline, to inform their characterisations of Leave supporters. As social media analysis has concluded, there is an ongoing, public process of self-invention where group values, traits and boundaries are negotiated by employing negative discourses about the opposing group whether they are Leave or Remain (Meredith & Richardson, 2019).

Brexit is a relatively recent development and specific identities did not exist up until a month before the referendum (Evans & Schaffner, 2019; Meredith & Richardson, 2019) although they have maintained prominence, indeed have even strengthened, in the collective imaginary since then (Curtice, 2018; Evans & Schaffner, 2019; UK in a Changing Europe, 2021). Consequently, while group members can draw on individual and collective histories to establish general protest behaviour, they lack an extensive social history that can act as an identity resource to inform the practices employed in the present (de Saint-Laurent, 2018; Gongaware, 2010; Wetherell, 2012; Wiesse, 2019). Instead, more recent past interactions and public narratives shape "what affective practices are valued by different groups, which are admired, which reviled" (Wetherell, Smith, & Campbell, 2018, p. 6). Creating a protest space reminiscent of a festival or carnival would establish that protest attendees adopt appropriate behaviour from the outset whilst simultaneously countering narratives that the Remain campaign used the tactics of 'Project Fear' and scaremongering (British Broadcasting Company, 2016a). It would also present them to the world as peaceful, rational, educated and, by default, unemotional (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Gould, 2009; Woods, Anderson, Guilbert, &

Watkin, 2012) which are characteristics directly opposing those attributed to the Leave opposition (discussed in further detail below).

Movement of the Collective

The “very friendly and civilized” even “carnival-esque” (Robert) atmosphere of the meeting area successfully set the tone for the ambulatory march towards Parliament Square. The majority of interviewees described the walk as a slow-moving but positive experience. Attention-grabbing elements, such as street theatre, news helicopters and the humorous placards and banners, instigated, and facilitated, shared emotion:

> There was definitely kind of shared, that kind of giddiness… at various points, yeah, like when there was almost like an external thing or like when it was a point at which you know helicopters everyone's like ‘Right let's start waving’. So I'd say there was definitely that that sense of excitement which kind of bubbled, was bubbling underneath and that was what felt like a very shared thing… I would say the kind of the points at which that kind of emotional high came were the spontaneous interactions between people in the crowd… it feels a bit like a theme-park ride. (Richard)

Reacting in similar ways to these external elements and bonding over them prevented the journey becoming an individualised one. Participants described laughing together and sharing in the silliness of what people were wearing or an amusing placard. Dancing and singing to music being played. Waving to make themselves known to the watching media. “There was quite a lot of chatting between strangers… a kind of sense of togetherness” (Mark) and “a feeling of solidarity was there, like people were sharing tears and handshakes and hugs” (Sid). One of the

many pictures taken by Leslie, and shared with the primary investigator (see Fig 4.2), exemplified how personal feelings of disenfranchisement were communicated in silly and humorous ways. Spontaneous interactions between attendees around such messaging and features within the protest space intensified personal emotions through being shared or, as Yvette explained, “it's whistles and drums and horns and chants. You know so that, again, that adds to it and yes it does add to it. So the euphoria just comes from the collective”. Social bonds are forged between strangers because they hold similar individual feelings and values that they can express in emotion-laden totems and social practices (Collins, 2004; Knottnerus, 2010; 2014).

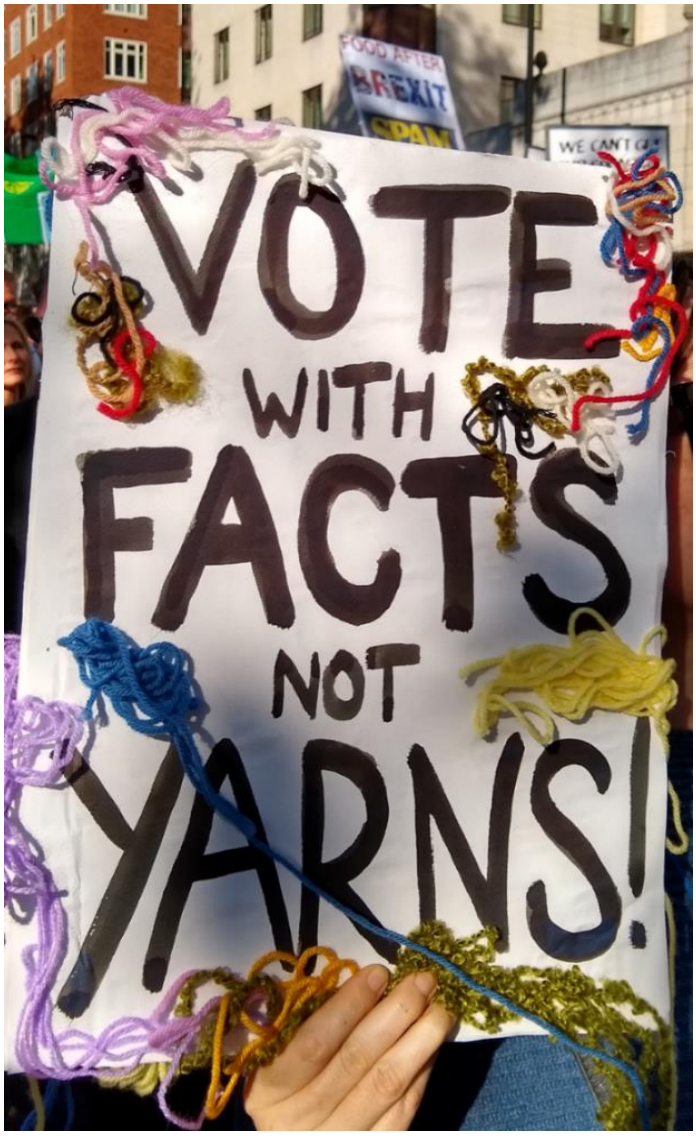


Figure 4.2 *Crafty Humour*

Cardboard placard decorated with wool (yarn) highlighting the mistruths and fictional stories (‘yarns’) promoted instead of ‘facts’ by the Leave campaign *(photograph courtesy of participant Leslie)*

The expression of discontent through chanting was described by one interviewee as displaying urgency, rather than anger (Tracey), and another participant spoke of one chant which “was ‘What we want?’ and then the people straight away answered ‘People’s Vote’. And clapping hands. And not in a question. In a good manner” (Heidi’s exact words). Likewise, Jill also talked about how “you have that group chant or group voice or group whistle. That was when I felt like I was part of a wider group”. Such protest behaviour was understood to be a way of having their voice heard, as a collective, and performing this with others strengthened the feeling of being in a cohesive group. Chanting and other shared protest rituals played an important role in generating shared emotional energy within collective action (Busher, 2016). These are affective practices that function to build and sustain the group as an emotional collective by expressing shared values and beliefs (Pilkington, 2016).

There is a contrast to the protest features discussed earlier that acted as stimuli to evince a response and made it feel like a “theme-park ride” (Richard). These practices allowed a more active, participatory role to be taken by attendees. Collective behaviour needs to be co-ordinated and becomes a joint effort that reinforces shared goals, group member similarities and a sense of togetherness (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; McNeill, 1995; Pilkington, 2016; 't Hart, 2007; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016). It could be considered as “empowerment” through the realisation, assertion, or enactment, of a shared social identity (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005; Drury & Reicher, 1999; 2009). As this was not predicated on illegitimate action by a co-present out-group, such as the police or an opposed group (Shayegh, Drury, & Stevenson, 2017), it is in a much broader sense of empowerment afforded by this opportunity to pursue group aims resulting from the

perceived illegitimate actions of the out-group who, whilst not co-present, retain a very real presence in the imaginary of the Remainer collective.

While this was the experience of some interviewees at the PPM there was variability between their accounts as a consequence of location, personal engagement and personal histories;

> there were various corners people had their megaphones for 'what do we want to say about Brexit or whatever'… but it wasn't a sense of kind of moving as a phalanx unified in a common cry. I think it would be very difficult for it to be simply because of its size. (Colin)

Chanting was felt to be reserved for smaller groups and not generally experienced by those people who did not attend with, or join, a group at the march. Here Colin is drawing on personal history as a comparison. The suggestion could be it is easier for smaller, defined groups to show solidarity and agreement with the aims and values of the PPM or that they had organised particular actions, such as chanting and singing, in advance. Another suggestion, was that “there wasn't much response because I think people were like well it doesn't, in a way, it doesn't really matter. We're just here. That's why we're here” (Jill). The physicality of being there in such large numbers was believed to be statement enough to convey their collective disagreement with leaving the EU therefore vocalising this could be considered surplus to requirement (Butler, 2015; Lilja, 2017).

While some participants remembered trying “to get people shouting and singing again. Nobody was having any of it. So I gave up” (Louise). This lack of engagement may reflect others being in agreement with Jill on the importance of visible presence over communicating a specific message. Alternatively, it may be an unfamiliar or uncomfortable way to express discontent for the majority of those

involved who were unseasoned, or out-of-practice, political activists such as Karen, Joseph and Heidi[3]. Where groups, such as the English Defence League, engage in the affective practice of chanting (Pilkington, 2016) this was not recognised as such by everyone attending the PPM. It could also reflect a reluctance to replicate what could be construed as more hostile behaviours such as those recounted earlier in the chapter when Sid and Oscar talked about Leave supporters. The association of these behaviour with such groups may make PPM attendees uncomfortable. A desire to avoid being portrayed as being similar to groups they viewed as aggressive and antagonistic, informed by their individual and collective histories, could deter them from engaging in comparable practices of affect (Wetherell, Smith, & Campbell, 2018). The fact that Louise felt that there was no point in trying to continue cajoling those around her to join in supports the interpretation that it was an affective practice that did not resonate with others. Engagement with controversial chants, specifically 'Bollocks to Brexit', is a theme taken up in Chapter 6 when investigating a subsequent anti-Brexit march.

A behaviour that was much more readily taken up by those in the march, specifically because it was collective and collaborative, was one referred to by many participants as a "Mexican wave of noise" (Mark). This was an undulation of sound that rippled down the crowd, similar to the Mexican wave that is often done at sports events but without the move from seated to standing position or the need for the raising of arms. About an hour before the speakers came on stage this was

[3] As can be seen from the demographic data (Table 4.1) this was not a reflection of how 'political' or politically active they considered themselves. Simply that they had little to no experience with protesting or had not been in a protest since they were much younger. Some participants, such as Yvette, Oscar and Leslie, reported only being politically active since the 2016 referendum yet they were deeply involved in anti-Brexit campaigning and protesting; for them chanting was an essential part of the protest.

experienced as a “rumble through the crowd” (Researcher field notes) but it was unclear what had prompted it. As Mark explained;

> What was weird is there would be random moments of like Mexican wave of noise. Cheering. Whooping. That would sweep up and down the length of the snake of people and it wasn't clear what that was… that Mexican wave of noise came right down behind my back a little in front of the crowd. It wasn't really clear what's causing that happening. Those were the moments of uniformity. (Mark)

Where chanting did not seem to have an effect on every person interviewed this behaviour was discussed as being a feature of the PPM that stood out because it was unexpected and they felt they could be involved with it. This could be presumed of the majority of the marchers present as, unlike the chanting, it was recounted as a widespread and successful collective expression. This was talked about as being “uplifting” (Bill) and “like a kind of, yeah, togetherness thing… a really nice feeling that everybody kind of kept this going” (Helen). Where chanting was not successful as an affective practice to bring the group together it would seem that the Mexican soundwave was.

The difference between chanting and the Mexican soundwave was “it was clearly playful in a way it wasn't, um, it was neither naturally generated nor was it directed at something” (Colin). The point being that the intentional nature of chants was less appropriate to the PPM and for such a large group, approximately one million people attended, to find a common voice it had to be something that the majority could be drawn into. This is quite a difficult task because it was comprised of pre-organised groups and independent marchers who had gone with friends, family or alone. This is very dissimilar to the marches organised by smaller, community-led,

grass-roots movements such as HIV activists (Gould, 2009) or the English Defence League (Busher, 2016; Pilkington, 2016); in such contexts collective action is dependent upon affective ties and solidarity built between members through more regular interactions.

In more cohesive social collectives, emotional habitus, group norms, and affective practices are consciously, and non-consciously, sedimented through regular contact and subsequent emotion management (Hochschild, 1979; Wetherell, 2012); they are the re-enactment of a collective past that emphasises group identity through the repetition of group-relevant social practices (de Saint-Laurent, 2018; Gongaware, 2010; Misztal, 2003a). While small, local groups within the PPM have such opportunities to find a group consensus on the aspects of Brexit they agree on, and how they will express this, this is not the case for many others who are attending without such prior involvement. For this reason, engaging with a less specific verbal message may well be preferable and it is at this point that “edges become blurred” (Darren) between grassroots groups and individual marchers. The Mexican soundwave offers a chance for attendees to be part of the collective voice, to be heard, without saying anything that people, in the march, may be offended by or committing to a chant that does not reflect their own stance. Also, the messages between groups, and independent marchers, may differ but this provided a way to unify them in action and override any discord. A final point may be about the tone that chanting creates, it can be perceived as being quite militant in the way it sounds which jarred with the positive, carnival atmosphere. Taken together with associations to groups, with oppositional views or traits, who use it as an affective practice may further help to explain the reticence of PPM attendees’ use.

What was clear, in these accounts, was that affect was experienced as a distinctive quality between bodies and as embodied within social interactions. Ahmed (2004a) would explain this as affect circulating around, and sticking to, objects and individuals to bring them together as a collective or aligned community (Ahmed, 2004a). However, participants attribute heightened emotional experiences to embodied actions between individuals such as chatting to strangers and other spontaneous moments where emotion was shared and experienced in response to features of the march. Richard and Yvette clearly felt that this was something within or from the group and Sid and Mark talk about it as something that is substantially present; the implication is that it is around and beyond them as individuals. Importantly, their accounts demonstrate the "need to locate affect, not in the ether, or in endless and mysterious circulations, but in actual bodies and social actors" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 159). Affect is socially experienced and communicated; generated through affective practices where people share their emotions and generative in that it evokes emotions that people want to share with others in that same situation. This was epitomised by specific collective behaviours that were spoken about that happened within the march, particularly, the Mexican soundwave. Emotions were felt in the shared, co-ordinated responses of the collective. How they communicated this in the interviews varied; a "togetherness", shared "giddiness" or excitement, "euphoria", and solidarity.

The Drama of Parliament Square

The final destination for PPM attendees was the Parliament Square rally, however, the majority were unable to access this location due to the large numbers of people present. Only seven interviewees made it this far, with two forgoing the march in favour of not missing the speeches. Various emotions recounted included

feeling inspired, hope and unity. What stood out the most to those who had been in the march was;

> the atmosphere there was completely different. It was incredible. Um you could have heard a pin drop. Not quite literally. It was intense. It was focussed… So that was a bit of a juxtaposition I think between the movement side of it and the listening side of it. (Natalie)

The carnival feel did not permeate into this part of the event instead it was described as being more “reverent... the chanting, it was more quiet” (Kate). Affectively, this was a different space which may be the result of being the climax of the march, the symbolic nature of being outside the Houses of Parliament (Joseph), or that the procession of people had come to a stop (Kate). The perception of a palpably less carnival feel to the atmosphere was more obvious because of how the affective atmospheres and spaces were utilised and the influence this had on social interactions (Anderson, 2014; Griffero, 2010; Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2015; rua Wall, 2019).

It was also setup very differently. Organisers had created a space where the marchers became an audience whose reactions were managed by the speakers and those attendees that wanted to listen to them and provide support. This is an example of a ritualised “affective arrangement” where attendees are “present[ed with] ‘prepared occasions’ for getting affectively involved or immersed in specific ways” (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017, p. 3). Descriptions of an “intense” or “reverent” atmosphere flow from this, as well as the content of the speeches, and are reminiscent of ritual practices around public assemblages and collective effervescence. Similarly, co-presence and shared attentional focus, created by the

speakers, would suggest that there would be shared mood and the generation of feelings of solidarity and emotional energy (Collins, 2004; Knottnerus, 2010).

Kate and Natalie indicated a more serious mood at this site, the behaviour of themselves and others being “quiet” and “focussed” compared to the march. Interestingly, a contrasting recollection was offered by Thomas who had been fortunate enough to be able to experience each stage of the protest (i.e. the meeting point at Hyde Park, the ambulatory march through the streets of London and the rally at Parliament Square);

> The speeches were, I think, they were quite important… I think that one thing that brought people together was cheering the same people [on stage or mentioned in the speeches], the same points… the same people get booed. And then a laugh… it was a bit sort of, you know, a little bit pantomime I think. I think that unity, I noticed it most of all in those kind of moments. (Thomas)

The sense of sharing was retained, however, the focus is on behaviours and responses that generated a sense of agreement and unity. This went beyond shared attention on the speakers and the example gives an insight into how emotional behaviour and aural features of collectively expressed emotion, by the audience, have a role in producing solidarity and shared emotion in such a large group (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019; Sullivan, 2015). The behaviour which Thomas described as “a little bit pantomime” is a collectively recognised practice of audience participation used in similar settings such as sports arenas (Kimberly Epting, Riggs, Knowles, & Hanky, 2011).

The deployment of childhood ritual would be familiar, and adds humour, for the majority present as a collectively remembered behaviour they can draw on to

express collective feeling (Lambert, Scherer, Rogers, & Jacoby, 2009). Also, pantomime audience participation, such as booing of the 'villain', has been highlighted as a collective performative action that "is part of the ritual and creates a sense of community identity" (Taylor, 2007, p. 133). Similarly, affective practices are routine behaviours that social groups establish as a result of collective history (Wetherell, Smith, & Campbell, 2018). As highlighted earlier, identity-specific practices were not sedimented into a collective history due to Brexit identities being relatively new creations (Evans & Schaffner, 2019; Meredith & Richardson, 2019). In this instance, Leave campaigners were portrayed as villains and an appropriate element of the more general cultural and social history would be the ritual of pantomime. Further, the inoffensive nature of the association with pantomime ritual parallels the discussion on the success of the Mexican soundwave as an inoffensive way to bond a physcially co-present group. Parliament Square provided a shift of emotional pace where the affective tone became intense and focussed. However, interaction between audience and the speakers maintained a positive reinforcement of social bonds through the expression of collective disaffiliation, and affiliation, through the frivolity of pantomime (Taylor, 2007).

Foregrounding Positive Protest Emotions

As demonstrated, the commonality at each of the various stages or locations of the march was that they were sites of positive and shared emotions. Hyde Park being the meeting point where attendees were immediately confronted with a positive environment populated by people they could recognise as having visibly shared values which encouraged interaction and the creation of social connections. Similarly, the protest march was a continuation of this where collaborative emotional behaviours and shared giddiness maintained those connections and sense of

togetherness. Parliament Square may have been experienced as more intense but was not devoid of co-ordinated social practices and displays of positive collective emotion; the pantomime responses injected the gravity of the speeches with an element of shared levity. Many of the participants talked about the march as a positive experience in more general terms therefore it would be remiss to present emotions as only being location-specific. Positivity was attributed to a variety of factors such as feeling safe, low-level policing, and feeling connected. Interviewees described a friendly, family-oriented and peaceful event despite the presence of a million people. As explained by Wayne, who has a history of working with crowds, “It didn't feel any way daunting or intimidating or physically risky. It felt quite positive to be there and all I can think about my emotions were positive”.

Others talked about how pleasant and friendly the whole day felt and how this was akin to a carnival or festival and was explained as having been “a feature of all of our marches… how peaceable it is” (Yvette). Whilst indicative of Durkheim’s (1912) collective effervescence, such a concept would not capture the wide-range of emotions that people felt individually, on behalf of their group or in co-ordinated collective forms. Most participants used such descriptions with a sense of pride, as hinted at by Yvette, the tone of the march paralleled previous marches in their peacefulness. This may reflect the makeup of the group, which included many families so would be expected to be a space welcoming to them, or it could be a group-norm defined specifically to contrast with the more aggressive and defiant atmospheres perceived at pro-Brexit events (Hope Not Hate, 2019). Perception is key here because social practices and emotional expression by the group members are often misconstrued by the out-group (Wertsch, 2009; Wetherell, 2012) particularly where the affective practices enacted are ones the out-group considers

inappropriate (Wetherell, Smith, & Campbell, 2018). Furthermore, there is an awareness of being with like-minded others who are assembled to express their collective discontent (Butler, 2015; Lilja, 2017) which evokes feelings of togetherness which are experienced as positive.

The carnival elements that comprised the starting point and march procession may have added to this more peaceful nature because it contrasts with the more serious rally that took place in Parliament Square. As mentioned by a lifelong protestor and football fan the whimsical aesthetic may be because:

> There were more bands and whistles and drums and dance and partying. And I think we've, I think we might have learned to decorate our marches or political marches and to make them more of a performance than perhaps they were… [less] football crowd like in terms of defiant shouting… There is a change in mood in protest marches. It's more subtle, more nuanced, more humorous (Joseph)

As Joseph talks about, the PPM was like a performance, and the contrast given, from his own experience, is a useful one because it highlights that there may well have been a conscious decision to have a march that would not emulate that of a football crowd and, by default, competitive values and behaviours. Across interviews, peacefulness of the protest, in terms of non-violence, and a lack of anger were spoken about consistently and, often, separately. This is possibly because the PPM could have been a peaceful but angry march (i.e. non-violent) but the important facet here was the absence of anger at the march, as well as, it being peaceful in nature.

Participants' experiences at the march could be seen to contradict the negative feelings, around Brexit, that participants associated with the EU referendum

and subsequent socio-political environment. The sense they made of this was significant:

> No-one shouting and frothing at the mouth… It was like quiet rage… it was definitely driven by positivity rather than, like say other marches I have been on, where the driving force is screaming bloody murder because everything is unjust (Richard)

This account presents shades of the same emotion and they are influenced and shaped in a variety of ways. At the physical protest he believes anger to be "driven by positivity" which manifests as a more controlled and less expressive form of anger which supports Joseph's suggestions of this being more performative than traditional marches. The proposition is that emotions of those attending are consciously controlled and managed, by themselves and others. While the concept of "emotion management" (Hochschild, 1979) is usually used in situations with more immediate social encounters, such as in the workplace, these accounts indicate that it is appropriate in SJEs. These analyses highlight how participants avoid behaviour that could be construed, by outsiders such as the media, as being overly emotional in their efforts to delegitimise the PPM cause; this has been highlighted as an concern for other social movements (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Gould, 2009; Woods, Anderson, Guilbert, & Watkin, 2012). This shows there is an awareness of the need to manage their emotional behaviour because they are performing for an imagined audience, in this case the general public, who they sought to have an emotional and cognitive influence on (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Blee & McDowell, 2012; Eyerman, 2005); the performer-audience relationship is explored further in the following case studies.

Even when talking about behaviour that could be interpreted negatively such statements are clarified as “We're not violent or aggressive. But we have learnt to be noisy” (Yvette) and “we did start chanting, it was louder and it was stronger than last time [October’18]… That felt like urgency… But not from an angry perspective” (Tracey). There are different experiences being recounted here, in that Tracey and Yvette are talking about there being performances that could be misconstrued as anger while Joseph and Richard describe a more muted quality to such emotion. This could reflect differing personal histories, and therefore their perception of the event, in that Tracey and Yvette are comparing previous marches organised by the People’s Vote Movement and Joseph and Richard are drawing on memories of other protests they have been involved in. Nevertheless, the performative element foregrounds positive rather than negative emotion; the social practices that occurred and were encouraged were ones that reduced the centrality of anger probably because such emotion is associated with the Leave campaign and antithetical to Remainer values. Importantly, describing emotion as a performance is not to suggest falsehood or actions to mislead. Such analysis is a representation of how participants were understood to make sense of the emotions, practices and significance of the march.

The influence of other individuals and the emotional dynamics between people has been posited as an explanation for there being less emotional variability, at an individual level, in the expression of collective emotion, which is group level, as a result of emotional norms being established (Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020). This potential tempering effect that other people can have on how social collectives express emotion highlights that nuance is needed in the investigation of collective emotion. Unquestioning acceptance of this being a positive

event because of the joyful elements described would belie the justifications interviewees offered for their involvement. The anger and grief that provided the context to the PPM did not abruptly dissipate on arrival at the protest. Less positive sentiments remained present in the chanting, placards and banners but other features of physical protesting were foregrounded. One was the mediating effect of togetherness and belonging which was taken up by Leslie;

> Maybe there was less anger when you're on the march because of the people that you're among. That's only just occurred to me. Maybe it was almost a bit of a respite from some of the anger. I'm not quite sure. But what I do know is there is that feeling of being among like-minded people. Feeling safe and so on. (Leslie)

His account emphasised the importance of feeling part of a social collective engaged in collective action rather than the managing of emotion. The sense of relief and safety may be more prominent to him because he felt surrounded by Leave supporters where he lives, however, it echoes the feeling of having no voice since the referendum. The sense of feeling normal and accepted has been described as a ‘giddy release’ from feeling like a stranger in a strange land (Hochschild, 2016). Leslie does not suggest such a sense of euphoria or validation but the parallel is unmistakeable particularly when taken together with Richard’s earlier mention of giddiness and excitement. Similarly, relief from negative affect and emotion, such as group-based anger, has been given as an explanation to attend protests (Stürmer & Simon, 2009). What can also be taken from the variation in recollections of interviewees is that there are limitations to existing emotion vocabularies. Here it is clear that anger, as a descriptor, would be inadequate as it cannot capture the complexity of human feeling where social practices, affects, and histories, both

personal and collective, are interwoven (Wetherell, 2012). It may also indicate that current emotional language is inadequate or inappropriate when describing assemblages of people because it assumes, or at least implies, that there are direct parallels between the phenomenology of individual and collective emotion (Pacherie, 2017).

The final point to mention is that the geographical boundaries of the event suggested that the Parliament Square rally would be the culmination of the event or, at the very least, the end of the speeches would signify that the march had finished. However, for some interviewees, the PPM transcended physical and temporal boundaries;

> Everyone was just chatting, not even on the march anymore, and then walking up and down the South Bank there's just people everywhere with Bollocks to Brexit stickers. Felt like a community, felt you didn't have to be worried. (Tracey)

The safety and kinship associated with belonging to this social collective remained with attendees so that even being “on the tube, kind of a few stops away, someone will get on with a banner. You might catch eye contact. Still that kind of slight connection which was quite nice” (Richard). The ability to still recognise and connect with other group members, out of the context of the physical march, was unexpected but appreciated by participants. Moreover, at least half of the interviewees described how feelings from the PPM stayed with them. As Natalie commented, she felt “pride and a little bit of hope. But I'm not sure how long that lasted” (Natalie). Attending the PPM bolstered positive feelings about in-group members and the future as “it had a morale-boosting effect” (Joseph) and left people with a “kind of sense of warm glow and achievement” (Beth).

The repercussions of the PPM, for those involved, was that the feelings of togetherness and positive collective affects were retained with slightly more muted affective qualities. They also became more individualised as the distance, physical and temporal, increased. Emotions are not collective but they are felt on personal levels as indicated by language referencing themselves rather than a wider collective (Salmela, 2012; Tuomela, 2013). These are still socially generated emotions connected to the world beyond the individual because their existence is attributed to the actions of the wider group; an expression of group-based emotion as it is felt on behalf of the group (i.e. pride at *their* actions and hope for *their* future options). It is also suggestive of "existential communitas" (Turner, 1969) which has been described, by Olavseon (2001), as a spontaneous, emotionally intense, transient but "transformative experience that goes to the heart of each person's being and finds in it something profoundly communal and shared" (p.105) which, similar to Durkheim's collective effervescence, can reaffirm, revitalise and recreate society (Olaveson, 2001).

Summary

Throughout the chapter the existing literature on group and collective emotion has proved useful in explaining some aspects of the findings. More often than not, they were found to offer partial understanding that could be developed through combining theories. Background and foreground emotional dynamics were found to be present in the accounts of intersections between habitus and practice. The (recent) past motivated action in the present, however, particular features of the event ensured that positive emotions were predominant. Definitions of space through particular social practices encouraged appropriate behaviours and emphasised the

sense of belonging. It has also been clearly demonstrated that affective practices and a sense of togetherness were interdependent; the Mexican soundwave was a collaborative practice that required a co-present social collective and simultaneously evoked feelings of being a cohesive collective. Unlike chanting, it did not require participants to be experienced, active members of an established group although there was evidence of strong emotional attachment to an imagined group in advance of the PPM. The following chapters will further explore features and properties of SJEs that influence group and collective emotion. In the interviews conducted for this case study, their manifestations were often only implied therefore this was discussed more explicitly with interviewees in subsequent case studies.

Chapter 5 : Pride Parade, London (July 2019)

The preceding case study was concerned with collective action organised in response to a contemporary and rapidly evolving political issue. In this chapter the focus is on a parade of a more institutionalised and historical nature: ‘Pride in London’. As will be briefly explained in the next section, this is an annual parade celebrating, and raising awareness about, the LGBTQ+ community and commemorating the Stonewall riots (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a; Pride in London, 2019a). Following a brief description of the research methods for this case study and introduction to the participants the chapter will be dedicated to exploration of interviewee accounts of the parade and what they can tell us about manifestations of collective emotion. As in the preceding case study, existing theory and literature will be considered in the explanation of group and shared emotion at the event, as well as, the interplay between background and foreground emotion. The parade was also the opportunity to investigate emotion in a less homogenous collective engaged in collective action.

Pride Parades

Pride parades are well established events throughout the world, particularly the ‘western world’, where the LGBTQ+ community and their allies can publically demonstrate their support for those who are non-heteronormative. They have become annual events in many countries, in multiple cities, throughout America and Europe and are the result of continued efforts, by the LGBTQ+ community, to become recognised, accepted and valued as a group within society (InterPride Inc., 2017). In her book on Pride Parades, McFarland Bruce (2016) explains that such parades became an annual commemoration of the Stonewall riots in New York in

1969, however, while this is often cited as the defining moment in LGBTQ+ activism and liberation, they were not the first or only large-scale events. Organised activism can be traced back to the 1950's and 1960's, with other events such as police raids on the San Francisco New Year's Ball (1965) and Los Angeles' Black Cat bar (1967) inciting similar outrage, anger and protest from the LGBTQ+ community; the difference was that, unlike Stonewall, these were not commemorated in subsequent years due to a lack of widespread recognition, within the LGBTQ+ media, and did not become embedded in collective memory (Armstrong & Crage, 2006; de Saint-Laurent, 2018; Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009; Stone & Jay, 2019).

Commemorations of the Stonewall riot, in the form of Pride parades and Christopher Street Day parades (Berlin.de, 2020), took on particular presentations that "were more festive and colorful [sic] than traditional protest marches and focused more on achieving broad cultural change than enacting specific government laws" (McFarland Bruce, 2016, p.5). The adoption of this format globally suggests this was widely considered, within the movement, as a successful way to protest because "bringing homosexuals together in public had a magical emotional impact—the ritual created collective effervescence by visually and experientially counteracting the view that homosexuality is private and shameful" (Armstrong & Crage, 2006, p. 742). This was facilitated by the formation of a US non-profit organisation in the 1980s, InterPride, and has led to the creation of WorldPride and EuroPride; as an international collaboration their collective goals continue to be to educate and raise awareness of the difficulties faced by LGBTQ+ people through Pride events (InterPride Inc., 2017). The format of an annual Pride parade, and symbolic elements such as the rainbow flag, were adopted by the rest of the Western world and beyond (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a). Although beyond the remit of the

current research, it would be remiss to ignore that widespread adoption of Pride and the associated narratives have garnered criticism as a form of homonationalism and colonialism that perpetuate Westernised values of sexuality and gender (Delatolla, 2020; Jackman & Upadhyay, 2014; Rao, 2015).

Pride parades have consistently been found to promote unity across LGBTQ+ difference in the United States (McFarland Bruce, 2016) and, in comparative studies of European parades which include WorldPride 2012 in London, they moved "their participants emotionally and cognitively, instilling that important sense of "we"" (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a, p. 172). While the US and UK are examples of nations where Pride is widespread many other countries are more cautious in their endorsement, such as Italy, where there is a limit on the number of cities that can host Pride parades (Ammaturo, 2016). In other countries, such as Turkey, Pride has been a site of political collaboration between disparate groups protesting against an authoritarian government (Pearce, 2018) although, since 2015, Pride and LGBTQI+ events have been banned throughout the country (Human Rights Watch, 2018). Even in countries where Pride has almost become institutionalised, specifically New Zealand, Australia and Scotland, Johnston and Waitt (2015) investigated the importance of space, place and emotion to Pride parades and found these are elements that "play a crucial role in geographies of belonging and the remaking of spaces as inclusive… enhanc[ing] feelings of belonging in place" (p. 116) while simultaneously acting as sites where LGBTQ+ people were regarded as fleeting visitors which reinforces their marginalised position within society. Furthermore, it has been suggested that a lack of media coverage can prompt individual shame for those involved in Pride parades which influences how feelings of unity manifest, and are managed, at the event (Johnston, 2007).

Paralleling the pattern of US LGBTQ+ activism, gay and lesbian activism has occurred in the UK since the 1950s. The Gay Liberation Front was set-up in 1970, mimicking an American organisation of same name, as a response to the Stonewall riots. They helped organise annual Pride parades in a few UK cities throughout the 1970s (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a) with the first one being held in London in 1972 (Brook, 2017). The beginning of the 1980s was the start of an era with increased emphasis on the fight for the rights of the LGBTQ+ community; public attitudes towards sexual minorities deteriorated as a result of the HIV crisis and the restrictive values of the newly elected Conservative government. Further, the Conservative government introduced Section 28 in 1989, a law banning the promotion of homosexuality in schools, which reinforced negative attitudes towards LGBTQ+ people (Epstein, 2000; Sanders & Spraggs, 1989). It was in this socio-political environment of ongoing stigmatisation, discrimination and hostility that Pride Parades in London, and across the UK, increased in size and number of localities (for UK examples beyond London see Peel (2019)).

Attendee numbers, at London parades, increased from 700 participants in 1972 to 100,000 in 1997. At that point, LGBTQ+ businesses felt it necessary to take control and began charging attendees to cover costs and renamed it London Mardi Gras (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a). Some sections of the LGBTQ+ community, at the time, felt the involvement of businesses was contrary to the ideals of Pride and the rebranding diverted attention away from the cause of reducing the oppression of sexual minorities; organisers, however, claimed that the event was political, through increasing visibility rather than campaigning, and actively discouraged political behaviour in their promotional material (Woodward, 1999).

Between 2003 and 2012, the parade was again controlled by civil society organisers with their last event being WorldPride which coincided with the 2012 Olympics, Paralympics and Queen Elizabeth II's Diamond Jubilee. Due to financial difficulties, and redefinition of WorldPride as a protest rather than a commercial event (Aveling, 2012), Pride London had to scale back their plans only weeks before the event (WorldPride, 2012). Subsequently, the contract to manage the event was awarded to a not-for-profit organisation, 'Pride in London', which is "run by a group of volunteers who are passionate about equality and diversity" (Pride in London, 2019a). While management of the event has returned to the LGBTQ+ community, rather than a business consortium, a compromise has had to be reached between political and commercial interests. For example, in 2019, corporate partnerships made up 48% of funding and the rest was from other revenue streams such as fundraising (Pride in London, 2019b). This still draws strong criticism for being less radical, more capitalist and evidence that the "LGBT+ psyche has been colonised by a hetero-normative mentality" (Tatchell, 2019, para. 10; Glass, 2020), however, their strategy has allowed them to successfully run annual parades up to the present day.

The theme for 'Pride in London' 2019 was Jubilee as it coincided with the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall riots and celebrated 50 years of activism (Ewings, 2019; Paskett, 2019). A common feature of Pride parades is that anyone is able to join and, compared to political protests, "there is a remarkable blurring between the role of marcher and spectator. Participants may begin the day watching the parade, then join in when a group with which they are familiar marches by" (McFarland Bruce, 2016, p.8). This was a description of events in the USA but, while this "blurring" is also a feature common to many UK Pride parades, it was not the case at 'Pride in London'. Physical barriers separated those in the parade and the watching

masses, or what are referred to as the immediate audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). As a result, this can transform the parade into a stage for identity enactment and "demarcate difference" (Ammaturo, 2016, p. 25). Further, parade groups had to apply for permission to take part, adhere to strict health and safety guidelines and individuals could only be part of the parade if they had registered for a ticket (of which there is a very limited number). Subsequently, there is a clear separation between who is, or becomes, the audience and how this is experienced, which will be discussed during the chapter.

Leading up to the parade, there was growing intolerance in the UK towards the LGBTQ+ community; reported hate crimes against LGBTQ+ individuals in England and Wales had doubled in the preceding five years (Marsh, Mohdin, & McIntyre, 2019), the British Social Attitudes survey reported that a third of the population "remain[ed] uncomfortable with same-sex relationships" (Curtice, Clery, Perry, Phillips, & Rahim, 2019, p. 130) and there had been public protests against LGBTQ+-inclusive education (BBC News, 2019). Nevertheless, Pride in London, 2018, attracted 1 million attendees with 30,000 people in the parade (Wills, 2018) and the 2019 parade saw 1.5 million people lining the streets with over 30,000 in the parade (Pride in London, 2019c). The parade route (see Fig 5.1) began at Portland Place, went ended by Trafalgar Square where stages and stalls were setup. The focus of the analysis in this case study is the role of wider affective practices before the parade that fed into the building of emotion over time, the ways in which spatial organisation facilitated a dynamic emotional environment including the collective emotional experience of being moved, and the realisation of the "imagined community" and "imagined audience" (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Anderson, 1991; Reicher, 2011).

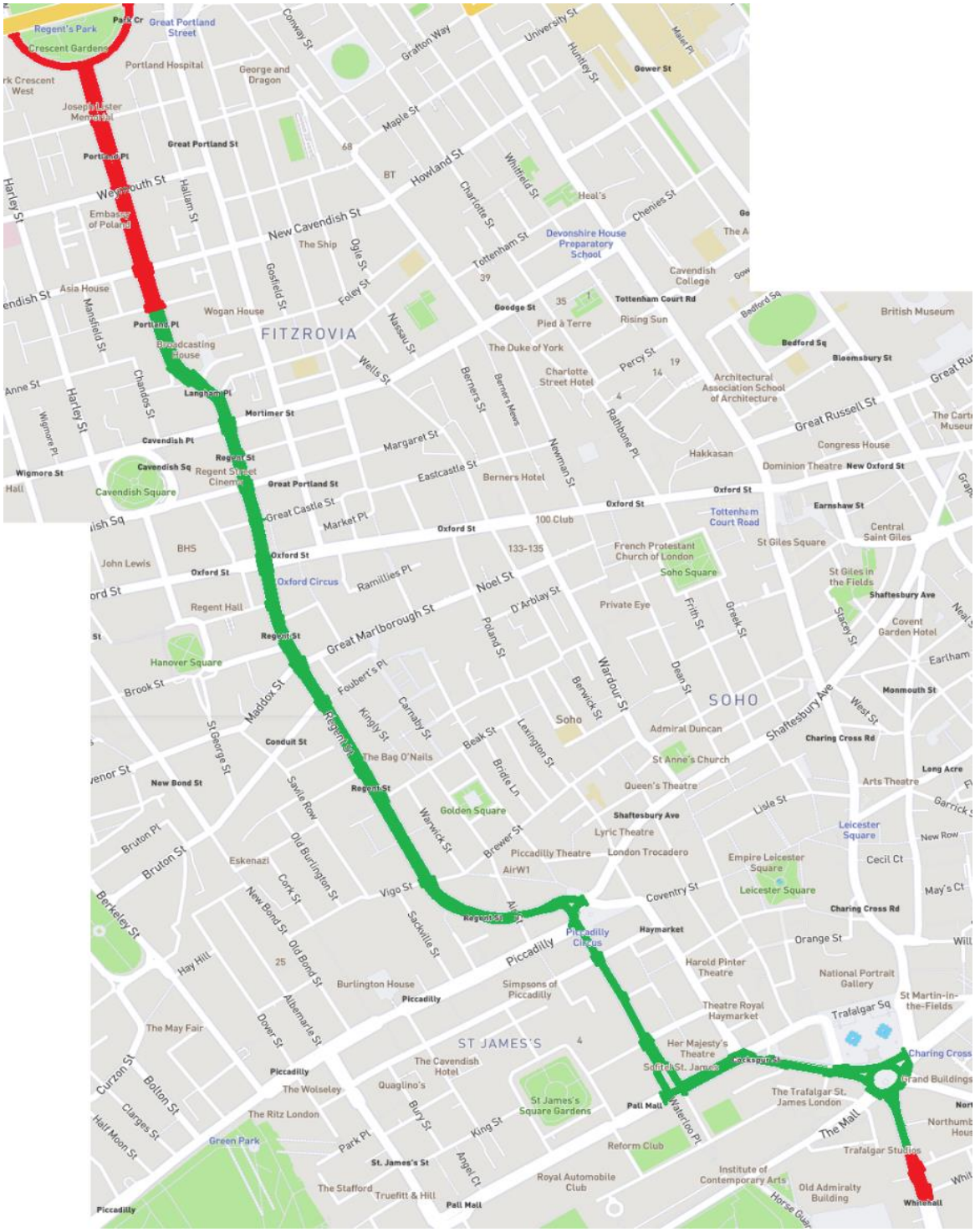


Figure 5.1 Map of Pride Parade Route

The parade goes from Portland Place to Whitehall. Route in **green**. Start and end points in **red.** Map courtesy of (Civitatis Tours, n.d.)

Method

As with the PPM study, the data collected was primarily through semi-structured interviews exploring the sense participants made of individual and group emotion before, during and after the event. All interviews were retrospective accounts, however, as recollections provided by PPM interviewees were consistent across prospective and retrospective accounts this was not considered a limitation. This consistency could reflect interviews being conducted shortly after the event therefore this was the approach also taken in this case study.

Recruitment and Participants

As discussed in Chapter 3, recruitment of participants was through university email lists, social media sites and publically available contact details for groups participating in the parade. Twenty-three individuals were interviewed in the month after the parade. Of the interviewees, none self-identified as transgender or non-binary and 35% were female. Ages ranged from 18 to 55 with 87% resident in London and identified as White. However, 12 participants were 'White' and reported to have originated from outside England (individual demographic information can be found in Table 5.1). With regard to sexuality, 56% defined themselves as gay males, 13% lesbian females, three participants reported their sexuality as bisexual, polysexual and asexual, and 17% were heterosexual (one of whom was male). Participant demographics were biased towards gay, white, cisgender males which would suggest a sample paralleling WorldPride (London, 2012) in which 53% of a survey sample (n= 187) were gay males (Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018b). As their roles within the parade could have had an impact on the sense they made of their involvement they were asked about this: four of the interviewees were

part of the observing audience, the remaining nineteen were performing in the parade and eight of those were also involved in the organisation of their parade group prior to the event.

Data Collection and Analysis

Semi-structured interviews had an average duration of 54 minutes with 19 conducted by telephone and two in person. Two participants supplied written answers to questions by email. Questions explored interviewee thoughts and feelings about Pride, their retrospective emotional experiences and affect-laden interactions before and after 'Pride in London' (See Appendix Q and R). Interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim with notes made about paralinguistic features which would be unclear from the words alone (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019; Rapley, 2007). Fieldwork also consisted of the researcher attending the protest to video record the event and take field notes although, as explained in Chapter 3, this footage was useful in the triangulation of accounts but was not analysed sequentially (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014; Denzin, 1978).

Data was analysed in the same way as the PPM case study with the only deviation being during the initial stages of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019) where both deductive and inductive approaches were taken to build on the analysis from the previous case study. While there was no attempt at forcing theme conformity, with all data being equally scrutinised, there was an effort to actively identify themes that may complement findings from the PPM case study.

Alias	Country of Birth	Home City	Gender	Sexuality	Ethnicity	Age Range	Attend Other Pride Parades	Role at Pride	Interview Method (After March)	Job Role
Sandra	USA	London	Female	Lesbian	White American	36-45	Multiple Times a Year	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	Academic
Eric	UK	London	Male	Gay	White British	46-55	Multiple Times a Year	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	Academic
Debbie	UK	London	Female	Lesbian	White British	36-45	Annually	Observer	Telephone	Teacher
Rose	UK	Surrey	Female	Bisexual/ Polysexual	White, British	under 25	Annually	Observer	Telephone	UG Student
Warren	Wales	London	Male	Gay	White Welsh	46-55	Not Regularly	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	Academic
Nathan	UK	Ferring	Male	Gay	Mixed Other	26-35	Not Regularly	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	Insurance
Vince	UK	London	Male	Gay	White British	46-55	Multiple Times a Year	In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Karl	Germany	London	Male	Gay	White European	56-65	First	In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Alex	UK	East Sussex	Male	Gay	White British	36-45	Not Regularly	In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Jordan	UK	London	Male	Gay	White British	36-45	Multiple Times a Year	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Freddy	Mauritius	Ely	Male	Gay	Mixed Race, Mauritian	26-35	Annually	In Parade	Email	NHS
Quinn	Scotland	Glasgow	Male	Gay	White Scottish	36-45	Not Regularly	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	IT
Callum	Scotland	London	Male	Gay	White Scottish	36-45	Not Regularly	In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Lisa	England	London	Female	Heterosexual	White British	26-35	Not Regularly	In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Zoe	Greece	London	Female	Heterosexual	White European	46-55	First	In Parade	Telephone	Hospice Worker
Thor	Denmark	London	Male	Heterosexual	White	46-55	First	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	Embassy Worker
Edward	UK	Coventry	Male	Gay	White British	36-45	Annually	Observer	In Person	Civil Service
Zara	Malaysia	Coventry	Female	Lesbian	Malaysian	26-35	Multiple Times a Year	Observer	In Person	PG Student
Phoenix	UK	Ampthill	Male	Asexual	White British	under 25	First	In Parade	Email	Journalist
Gordon	Scotland	Haselmere	Male	Gay	White Scottish	36-45	First	In Parade	Telephone	Academic
Ginny	England	London	Female	Bisexual	White British	under 25	Not Regularly	In Parade	Telephone	PG Student
Zain	UK	London	Male	Gay	White British	under 25	Multiple Times a Year	In Parade	Telephone	NHS
Anja	Sweden	London	Female	Heterosexual	White Other	46-55	Not Regularly	Organiser & In Parade	Telephone	Embassy Worker

Table 5.1 Participant Information (Pride)

Analysis and Discussion of Themes

The focus on studying a single parade allowed for an in-depth investigation, as well as, offering a contrasting case to demonstrate further properties and features of collective emotion at an SJE. The heterogeneity of the attendees was an important facet of the sense of togetherness and, while this is an important event for the LGBTQ+ community, it has been suggested that the role of straight allies at Pride should be considered (McFarland Bruce, 2016). Consequently, a unique facet of this case study was the exploration of the role of non-LGBTQ+ allies at this Pride parade and their contribution to the experience of (comm)unity.

The Rainbow Connection and Emotion-building Before the Parade

Growing excitement about the parade was recounted by the majority of interviewees, Lisa stated that she “was excited. I didn't really know what to expect” while others were excited because they had enjoyed ‘Pride in London’ previously and “knew kind of what to expect from it which didn't mean that I had less of expectations. Maybe I had even more [laughs]” (Anja). These individual feelings were widespread and evoked by a variety of affective practices employed, at multiple levels, in advance of the physical event which played a crucial role in the formation of individual and collective affective dispositions (Sullivan, 2018). For example, participants’ everyday habitual ways of expressing and enacting emotions about the upcoming parade (i.e. their emotional habitus) were different to the everyday fear of the unknown that some interviewees talked about;

> There is a huge value in then being together [at Pride] with people whose natural perspective, whose natural understanding of the world,

> is much more similar to yours… it counters that feeling of isolation that is still all too endemic in LGBT people in general. (Callum)

Many participants discussed the constant unknown and background habitus for LGBTQ+ individuals where they are having to be "hyper-vigilant about whether someone might reject you based on your sexuality. You really have to have a thermostat, sort of testing of how someone's going to respond to you" (Zara), and being the only LGBTQ+ person in a workplace, for example, can result in feeling of "endemic" isolation (Callum). Describing the navigation of heteronormative society as isolating and an unknown, adhering to unspoken rules for LGBTQ+ individuals, is not unfounded; research has found that LGBTQ+ individuals are expected to disclose their gender or sexuality status because failure to do so was considered deceptive (Day & Nicholls, 2019). Other research has identified the cultural pressure to conform to heteronormative ideals through the shaming of queerness that results in social isolation and hiding (McFarland Bruce, 2016). These negative emotional spaces that LGBTQ+ people inhabit on personal and social levels, their emotional habitus, are further exacerbated by broader events. As examples, interviewees highlighted the mass-shooting at an LGBTQ+ venue in Orlando (Beckett, 2016), the physical attack on two lesbians on a London bus (Hunte, 2019) and the Birmingham protests against the representation of the LGBTQ+ in primary school education (BBC News, 2019). Such anti-LGBTQ+ events have been found to engender fear for personal safety (Stults, Kupprat, Krause, Kapadia, & Halkitis, 2017) and add to the collective trauma of historical hate crimes and the HIV/AIDS crisis (Herek, 2017; Nadal, 2018).

Anticipation of Pride in London, going to an event where they did not have to be "hyper-vigilant" and feel isolated, allowed attendees to foreground positive

emotions and feelings of security and belonging within their individual emotional habitus. Further, participants highlighted the significant role that the groups they were attending with had in facilitating these shifts in affect. At local levels involvement in 'Pride in London' can be initiated by small community groups, and larger institutions, well in advance of the event itself by a variety of interested parties:

> There's a lot of excitement generated around the University… normally around February, March time people start saying to me 'Are we doing Pride this year?' and, you know, 'What's happening?' and 'What's the arrangements?'. So there is a lot of excitement around it. (Eric)

While it is unclear who 'we' are, Eric's use of a collective pronoun indicates that people within his university look forward to being part of 'Pride in London' and actively engage in planning for it nearly six months in advance. This parallels individual anticipation whilst also demonstrating that this is shared among colleagues and the motivated aspect of it becomes "excitement generated around the University". Similar emotional momentum was described around an NHS Trust where "there was a groundswell of interest and enthusiasm for people going, spread by word of mouth… There was an increasing frequency of emails and discussions within the organisation" (Vince). There is no indication in any accounts of needing to cajole people to engage, as may often be the case with activities organised in a work context, instead some local organisers explained the need to implement restrictions on who could attend (Warren), set-up ticket lotteries or charity donations for tickets (Jordan) to restrict the numbers of people.

At these more local, organisational levels this enthusiasm and excitement could be described as shared group emotion that prompted actions and activities

although not, at this point, of the collective beyond their specific organisation. This form of “micro-mobilisation” (Britt & Heise, 2000) has been identified as a period when emotions are built around an upcoming event to create the relational background required for collective emotions (Sullivan, 2018). As discussed by Karl, “there was an enormous amount of goodwill and solidarity. Mutual support. That was really nice. People coming forward with ideas and volunteering themselves for different tasks”. This voluntary engagement of individuals was mirrored across different, unconnected institutions strengthening affective ties at local levels as has been shown with many social movements (Busher, 2016; Gould, 2009; Pilkington, 2016; Ransan-Cooper, Ercan, & Duus, 2018; Tilly, Castañeda, & Wood, 2019). This materialised in the hosting of small events to promote Pride, for those who would be at the parade and also those who would not, such as evening receptions (Anja and Thor), t-shirt decorating workshops and dance lessons (Zain).

Pride-related activities and practices were not restricted to small, exclusive groups which means that they were not attempts to exclude anyone or police who qualified to be a group member. Rather they were often displayed for the benefit of a more general public:

> We have rainbow lanyards which we didn’t have before… our Pride banner up during graduation week on campus to increase visibility. We’ve been flying the Pride flags on our campus during [LGBTQ+] history month.… The build-up went on for months… like having the vice-chancellor raising the rainbow flag on the campus and things like that. (Warren)

Prior to the physical parade, support for Pride was presented in highly visible ways, such as wearable items and flags that would be seen by everyone that worked in the location, the immediate general public and beyond (when these displays were shared, positively and negatively, on social media). The individual level effort, to promote Pride locally, became something workplace collectives endorsed and took ownership for. This is described by Warren as he talks about the use of the rainbow theme throughout the campus to increase visibility in an ongoing manner. The 'we' being mentioned is not a small group, such as an LGBTQ+ staff network, it is the institution. Eric also talked about how "the University actually decorated itself for Pride as well. Which we've never done before. So that was really good". To clarify, these were not the same universities, but there are parallel affective practices of endorsement and support being employed at similar group levels and seen in other publically accessible establishments.

Such displays act to signify the stance of individuals within an establishment and, by default, the institution itself as a collective entity. The emotional journey, for some participants, begins in advance of the parade as emotions are reified and fostered through the engagement of work colleagues and institutions. The excitement about Pride, generated between colleagues, is amplified and achieves greater resonance with the involvement and approval of their workplace which, in turn, can then lead to more complex feelings at an individual level;

> I actually got the absolute honour of raising the Pride flag over the hospital this year which was surprisingly emotional. I was a bit taken aback by how emotional…. by the Thursday night there were already, you looked out across the skyline, and there were Pride flags and one or two Trans flags flying. That is a hugely symbolic thing. (Callum)

This demonstrates that there is much more than just anticipation or excitement around Pride because it is more than just the physical parade. The actions and activities surrounding it, such as a workplace raising the Pride flag or distributing rainbow-coloured items, encourage feelings of pride, safety and surprise. For participants these forms of the local queering of space are novel and unexpected (Browne & Bakshi, 2011; Doderer, 2011; Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a) and act to bolster LGBTQ+ peoples' confidence and remove fears or concerns about how those around them will react. For Callum, this may be why he was "a bit taken aback" because, in his role as an employee, such feelings were less salient but this action foregrounded his identity, and feelings, as a gay man in a work environment.

Flags, particularly those representing countries or cultures, have been identified as totems that are imbued with, and representative of, shared group emotion(s) (Collins, 2004). Such emblems can induce intense feelings, on individual and collective levels, of pride and connection to a social group (Halldorsson, 2020) whilst simultaneously being an immediate symbol of division that can elicit hatred in others (Guibernau, 2013; Moeschberger & Phillips, 2014). The rainbow flag, the Pride symbol, is no different. There are intense positive emotions associated with its presence: namely safety, belonging and trust (Formby, 2017; Wolowic, Heston, Saewyc, Porta, & Eisenberg, 2017). While much research focussed on youth and the importance of safe spaces Callum's reaction attests to the applicability of such conclusions being drawn here. Such prominent placing of the flag by an institution evokes intense feelings of safety, validation and pride. Institutional norms and values are communicated to a wider, public audience and the institution becomes a space that does not tolerate LGBTQ+ prejudice and is therefore a zone of safety.

Participants also talked about how this extended beyond localised establishments to the wider world. The affective practices highlighted were not isolated to the workplaces of interviewees. As evidenced in Callum's description of the city skyline, they were clear to see across London. Similarly, Eric recalled that "every government building had a rainbow flag. There's just something brilliant about that… it just felt really good… London felt like it was into Pride this year. There were flags, there were rainbows, there was everything, everywhere". This queering of space throughout London was talked about by over a third of interviewees who mentioned the rainbow colours appearing in shops (Edward), tube stations (Zain) and as pavement decoration (Debbie). A much publicised example was the transformation of London's iconic Marble Arch (see Fig 5.2) which was illuminated with the Pride colours for the week leading up to the parade (Brown, 2019; Buxton, 2019). This means, for LGBTQ+ people, London would be being perceived as a safe, welcoming space which would add to their anticipation and excitement preceding the parade. Where research on Pride parades often discusses its temporary nature (Taylor, 2014) of how "for one day a year the streets are queered and the 'norm' for the duration of the Pride parade is not heteronormative" (Browne & Bakshi, 2011, p. 181) there is evidence here that, in London at least, the parade was only part of it. These affective practices were being enacted collectively at institutional and government levels through symbolic changes to locations throughout London.

Figure 5.2 Image of Marble Arch, London illuminated in Pride colours

Marble Arch illuminated to support Pride in London 2019. Image courtesy of Marble Arch London BID, English Heritage and Westminster City Council. © Michael Pilkington.

Embodied Pride and Bridging Social Divides at the Parade

Many participants' accounts of the parade began before arriving at Portland Place, the 'holding area', where the parade groups waited to start walking. Half of those interviewed spoke about meeting up in small groups, generally the people they would be in the parade with, and getting ready for the day ahead:

> We met there [at Regents Park] as a group about an hour and a half beforehand. Some people didn't know each other so we introduced ourselves. Had some photos. Got excited. Applied more glitter. More makeup. More rainbow colours etc. (Quinn)

Importantly, the majority of interviewees described adorning themselves and each other in this way which indicates such activities formed part of the ritual that acted to bond known and unknown colleagues. This is analogous to the interpersonal emotion regulation between soldiers preparing for an exercise or sports teams before a match (Friesen et al., 2012). Sharing positive feelings with each other while covering themselves in matching, brightly coloured, sparkly camouflage that brings them together as a cohesive team and can shield them from the gaze of the impending crowds as it offered them a way of "being present/absent by hiding one's personal identity" (Johnston, 2007, p. 47). It is suggestive of a shared social identity or emergent social collective forming, irreducible to a shared group membership, that has been found in response to a shared event or imagined situation (Drury, Cocking, & Reicher, 2009; Drury, Brown, González, & Miranda, 2016; Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020; von Scheve, 2019). Where this adds to the extant literature is demonstrating that such collectives can develop before an event in anticipation of non-confrontational collective action rather than as an outcome of a shared negative experience.

While accounts in this research do indicate that sense of 'we-ness' forming without pre-existing social bonds it is not as a result of a shared experience, much less a negative one; this is happening in preparation for what is anticipated to be a shared positive experience. Engaging in this activity with others adds to the excitement and the flamboyance, inherent to the parade, which is emphasised in the way Quinn systematically states "more" before each of the elements. These are the embodied aspects of queer pride that will be seen by everyone. This sort of ritual costuming was not just observed by groups that would be in the parade, as Rose explained, she and her girlfriend "met up with my friend [at their house] and we were

all getting dressed up. Getting as rainbow as possible. Rainbow make-up. Rainbow outfit. Rainbow flags and everything" (Rose). The wearing of Pride colours was adhered to by all the interviewees, and the researcher (see Appendix ZA), whether they were simply observing the parade or marching in it. The majority also highlighted it as a very conscious activity that began their day.

As discussed by Collins (2004), physical objects can become symbols of group membership to which emotional mood is associated, in this case the rainbow of Pride, and the displacement of attachment "onto the physical object, as its symbol […] is a way of steering oneself toward a specific source of emotional energy" (Collins, 2004, p. 317). In this context, of Pride as a special collective occurrence, the adorning of oneself and each other with the rainbow is an example of a widespread, schema-driven and emotion-laden socially interactive practice that enhances emotional experience, and commitment to a group, which has been referred to as "ritualized symbolic practice" (Knottnerus, 2010). Taken together, at this point of the Pride event, people were unifying through "getting as rainbow as possible" (Rose), in small groups, over shared meaning(s) of the rainbow flag and, in doing so, they move towards a shared mood. The very social nature of this practice strengthens social bonds and enhances particular emotions within the group (Collins, 2004).

A further important aspect of these prior practices is the flamboyant nature of such physical decoration and what it achieves beyond in-group cohesion. Embodied, visual social practices have been shown to be employed by subcultures with an audience in mind (Tosoni, 2019). In her research she concluded that the Italian goth subculture challenged mainstream gender, sexuality and beauty using a "strategy of visual shock performed in public spaces" (p. 37). There is a similar indication here of

corresponding goals and performance in a public space, albeit from opposing ends of the colour spectrum; thus, rather than emphasising darkness and ugliness, the Pride parade participants use sequins, glitter and rainbows. As discussed by Johnstone (2007) gay pride parades utilise a camp sensibility to question heteronormativity through humour and defiance. Moreover, the visual is not necessarily just about confrontation. One participant described how “we felt so proud and beautiful in our NHS t-shirt, bright colours along with all our colourful glitter and huge Pride flag” (Freddy). Donning these colours was about feeling, and embodying, pride and the transformation of shame (Britt & Heise, 2000).

Freddy also highlights the role of beauty, presenting the LGBTQ+ as colourful and attractive. Where ritualized social practices (Knottnerus, 2010) are emotion-laden for group members this indicates the use of social, or affective, practices that are not just for the benefit of the in-group. The bright colours make those in the parade feel a certain way that then also invites onlookers to do the same. Traditionally the LGBTQ+ have been constructed within the heteronormative imaginary as a threat, as deviant and reviled; shared social memory that provides a narrative frame to (dis)empower the collective (Eyerman, 2004; Wertsch, 2009). In this context, the audience is moved to re-evaluate what they consider beautiful, threatening and, ultimately, acceptable. This may explain the opposing colour palettes used by goth and LGBTQ+ people, the former group is actively distancing themselves from society, hence the emphasis on their darkness (Tosoni, 2019), and the latter is trying to disrupt negative perceptions by accentuating their beauty (Armstrong & Crage, 2006; Johnston, 2007). The Pride parade acts as a “collective symbol of beauty and pride” (Simons, 2020, p. 580) celebrating, performing and embodying their past collective, non-heteronormative identity in the present

(Connerton, 1989; de Saint-Laurent, 2018). It is a direct contrast to how they had been made to feel, as individuals, throughout their lives or on a daily basis (Simons, 2020) and is an opportunity to disrupt collective memory by re-presenting their past identity (Narvaez, 2006). It could have been perceived as hubristic pride, as it is a form of collective self-aggrandisement, except that, as interviewees explained, it was not done in an aggressive way to achieve dominance but rather a camp, vibrant manner that discouraged exclusion (Sullivan & Day, 2019) and invited acceptance (Salmela, 2014b).

As can be seen in these accounts, emotion-building happens through multiple activities which indicates their role as a background feature in the manifestation of emotions at public events (Sullivan, 2018). Emotion was generated through sharing individual feelings about the event through conversation, emails, and other activities. The Pride narrative was also promoted through the use of affective practices at group levels which signified their agreement and support. This adds to the existing literature in social movement theory and social psychology, which generally focuses on specific events or outcomes, by highlighting that the event is only part of a process, preceded by actions and affects that influence the experience of collective action. The feelings of safety and inclusion, afforded to LGBTQ+ people by Pride was not restricted to a single location or point in time. Fear of rejection on a societal level, experienced by many LGBTQ+ people on a daily basis (Kitzinger, 2005), is challenged by the actions and affective practices employed by individuals, institutions and the government. Pride events, and associated activities, help to alleviate and alter such an emotional habitus transforming fear to hope, isolation to inclusion and, obviously, shame to pride (Britt & Heise, 2000; Gould, 2009; Johnston, 2007).

Furthermore, the rainbow colours may not be as intensely emotion-laden for all attendees, particularly those who are non-LGBTQ+ (Formby, 2017; McFarland Bruce, 2016), however they accentuate similarity, despite difference, acting as a "cultural bridging practice" (Braunstein, Fulton, & Wood, 2014) in advance, and during, the parade. For all present this would foster a sense of belonging, inclusion and togetherness (Guibernau, 2013) and is an immediately recognisable affective practice of support and similarity that signifies affiliation. As with sports merchandise, this creates and affirms individual and collective identity to "promote a sense of community among supporters and facilitate social integration" (Derbaix & Decrop, 2011, p. 288) as well as encourage inclusivity as they could be worn or displayed by anyone (Stieler & Germelmann, 2016; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). Everyone wearing Pride colours presents and performs a non-heteronormative collective identity where heterosexuality becomes hidden and cannot be presumed; a direct contrast to current societal organisation where there is an expectation of being straight. Past LGBTQ+ identity is embodied, reinforced and extended to others in the present to (re)imagine the future (Connerton, 1989; de Saint-Laurent, 2018; Narvaez, 2006) The sense of togetherness, within and beyond the parade, would be reinforced by the shared Pride symbols and blurring of boundaries between us-and-them that this achieves.

Emotional Dynamics in the Parade

The procession took participants from Portland Place, through Oxford Circus and ended just past Trafalgar Square (see Fig 5.1). Observers began lining the route a couple of hours beforehand and there was a definite sense of people 'settling in' in preparation for the event which would go on for the next few hours. Only those who

arrived early enough were able to take up positions on walls and statues where they could possibly sit to watch. Those who arrived closer to the start time had to be prepared to stand with little room for manoeuvring between fellow ‘audience’ members. Despite this, and the lack of music and entertainment at this point, the sound of laughter, merriment and good-natured banter could be heard as people gathered. Interviewees described the parade itself as a unique, high intensity, and interactive experience where their emotional experience was influenced by, rather than isolated from, the watching crowd. The video footage and researcher field notes attest to the volume created by short bursts of dance music or cheering and whistles as different groups went past, as well as, the vibrancy and creativity of the parade costumes and parade-group skits and choreography. That the parade was the main focus of the day was evidenced by the hundreds of thousands of people that lined the whole route. None of the interviewees talked about an event involving walking through London surrounded by disinterested spectators or feelings of shame as experienced to such a reaction at Edinburgh Pride (Johnston, 2007). This next section will explore how this parade-observer, or performer-audience, relationship (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) was made sense of and engaged with; acting to validate, support and move interviewees rather than objectify, ridicule and separate them.

The Performance and Embodiment of an Emerging Social Collective

As mentioned, Ammaturo (2016) identified elements such as the physical safety barriers as a hindrance to emotional connection as the Pride parade was transformed into a stage for identity performance. Such measures also constrain the queering of space thereby mimicking the everyday experiences, and emotional habitus, of LGBTQ+ people. As will be discussed below, participants highlighted how

features of the Pride in London parade that could potentially emphasise an us-and-them dichotomy became a positive element of the event. Their accounts indicated that such divisions did not "function as a demarcating instrument which 'fences off' the *exoticness* of gay pride participants from the presumably neutral spectators" (p. 25). Rather, the physical separation and distinct roles at the parade were not perceived as a means of deepening divides between the LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ groups;

> It isn't just, it's not stand on the periphery and observe some people doing something. It does feel much more like, although there are physical barriers in terms of railings, it almost didn't really matter. They just happened to be standing still and we happened to be walking. It didn't feel like a barrier or a division. It felt like we were all there together. Which was great. (Alex)

While the barriers were accepted, as part of the event, the parade and onlookers were understood to be integral parts of that same encompassing entity. The barriers did not prevent Alex feeling that "we were all there together" engaged in the same event just in different ways. Complementing Ginny's account, discussed later, of feeling "part of something bigger" his recollection shows a sense of connectedness extending beyond parade group or LGBTQ+ status which was echoed across participants. The sense of togetherness was not simply a presumption inferred from peoples' attendance at Pride, or a sense they had of their own group that they projected beyond the parade, it was informed by observable behaviour of the spectators.

Interactions between the parade and the watching crowd featured in, and across, interviews. There was a sustained collective and "shared emotion of just joy and laughter" (Zara) that was facilitated by the movement of the parade. Whether an observer, constrained to a fixed location, or in the parade, constantly moving, they were one another's highly focussed, co-present, immediate audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) engaging with a constantly changing environment. As Callum described, there is a symbiotic relationship between the crowd and the parade where "the energy then fuels you and you become much more part of that…the further it went the more that was driving it as well… the more you are playing back to the crowd". There is a mutual focus of attention on each other and the audience participates in the parade. In line with Collins' (2004) interaction ritual chains there is an exchange of emotional energy that builds over the duration of the parade suggestive of "collective effervescence" (Durkheim, 1912). What is further hinted at, that is not well explored by Collins or Durkheim, is the intentionality, the cognitive aspect, within collective effervescence or collective emotion (Salmela, 2014a; von Scheve, 2011). This is not a passive acknowledgement of others being involved, and experiencing similar feelings, there is an active, deliberate engagement on both sides; "playing back to the crowd" describes a response, rather than deliberate and unsolicited action to incite reaction with the use of "playing" denoting it as pleasurable.

Similar collaborative and playful activities are recollected by most interviewees as observable in a variety of crowd actions and, while not quantitatively measured, the different types of crowd behaviours mentioned by the interviewees were collated (See Table 5.2). Cheering, screaming and laughter were most

commonly recalled, across the participants, and were perceived as affiliative demonstrations:

> People are just screaming, shouting. You don't know what they are screaming, just lots of screaming [laughs]. And. It's really quite. Crazy. And everyone smiling… [compères along the route] shouted out the names of whoever was walking past. That got even more people to scream and clap their hands or whatever. (Anja)

Adulation by a mass of unknown people is a situation unlikely to be encountered by non-famous people. Anja's description is reminiscent of reactions to celebrities or popular bands, which could explain her laughing and then saying it was "crazy". Interviewees talked about how this evoked feelings of pride and confidence. Cheering was instigated, or reignited, by the announcement of specific groups as they moved into different sections of the parade route. Interestingly, this implies an organisation-identity was foregrounded, and the pride was associated with this rather than their LGBTQ+ status. In this situation, there is an affective practice being employed by the crowd to display pride in the organisations which, in turn, generates pride in the people in the parade. Throughout the interviews, participants explained how proud they felt when the crowd expressed affiliation with their parade group because they were "representing the university" (Warren) or "a country [Denmark] where it's a given that we are all equal" (Thor).

	Alex	Anja	Callum	Debbie	Edward	Eric	Freddy	Ginny	Gordon	Jordan	Karl	Lisa	Nathan	Phoenix	Quinn	Rose	Sandra	Thor	Vince	Warren	Zain	Zara	Zoe
Interaction between Crowd & Paraders (n=18)				At Southbank rather than Parade - could only comment on Queening of London more generally			Nothing said about crowd behaviour specifically, just that				Nothing said about crowd behaviour specifically, just that						Not Recorded - I have not made any notes about behaviour being mentioned	Nothing Mentioned about interactions					Nothing Mentioned about interactions
Hi5s & other physical contact	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓				✓	✓		
Photos with Crowd			✓				✓			✓			✓						✓				
Giving Out Stuff/Facepaints	✓									✓		✓	✓								✓		
Verbal e.g. Banter, chatting	✓					✓				✓				✓	✓				✓			✓	
Crowd Making Noise (n=14)																							
Clapping		✓								✓													✓
Waving					✓					✓			✓		✓								
Waving Flags & Supportive Placards													✓	✓		✓				✓			
Dancing															✓						✓		
Smiling & Laughter		✓						✓					✓		✓						✓	✓	
Cheering	✓	✓			✓	✓			✓					✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	
Screaming, Shouting, Whooping	✓	✓				✓		✓	✓	✓				✓				✓			✓		
Crowd Positive (no behav described)																							

Table 5.2 Crowd Behaviours described as salient by Pride interviewees

From the other side of the barrier, there was a desire to express pride or admiration for organisations in the parade because “it was quite a rush and a high seeing these people being open” (Rose) and “there's a real sense of excitement and joy for other sorts of organizations and initiatives” (Zara). However, the same level of support was not extended to all parade groups particularly when “no one knew who they were, or were just banks, or whatever, and just totally did not need to be there” (Zain). As an observing researcher, and from reviewing the video footage, there was a perceptible change in response, or “kind of a non-response” (Edward), for some parade groups. Cheering was slightly more muted, rather than an absence of crowd noise, and qualitatively different in intensity and volume which was not immediately obvious in the moment. The difference was accentuated when a subsequent, and presumably worthy, group was identified by the crowd and the previous level of noise and exuberant behaviour resumed. As examples: Stonewall, public services, and religious groups received more animated support than, as stated, banks or insurance companies.

As an affective practice it demonstrates that the “collective voice” can communicate levels of affiliation or collective value judgement that command and direct attention of the group. It does not have to be all or nothing. Varying the intensity and loudness of sound acts as a sonic affective practice that “operates in the liminal space between multiple experiential registers” (Heller, 2015, p. 54) and communicates affect and emotion of the collective as an “expressive crowd” (Blumer, 1935). This is not to suggest that such expressions are pre-agreed as the effect is cumulative whereby there are a smaller number of people responding, or a similar number doing so but with less exuberance, which decreases the intensity. Social appraisal of others responses could also mediate individual displays of enthusiasm

for a parade group; perceptible disaffiliation in others around a person could act to regulate behaviour through social inhibition (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; Manstead & Fischer, 2001; Parkinson, 2020). Within this, the watching crowd is also an audience for the parade and, despite there being little research on audience emotions as a group (Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019), there are collective modes of emotional expression in operation. These are not simply "a "reaction" to what is happening, they also *perform and reflect* specific situational entanglements and communicate as embodied evaluation of them" (p. 256).

The reciprocal nature of this emotional behaviour was not restricted to observation and vocal interaction; there was also a physicality that defied the separation of the safety barriers. As the parade progressed "it started, in a way, to feel like a street party… [the crowd] were standing and cheering but now they're actually reaching out to engage [with those in the parade]" (Edward). This physical engagement was spoken about by nearly half of the participants in a similar way to Edward; his use of the phrase "actually reaching out" indicates an element of surprise that this is happening. The salience, and unexpectedness, of this was highlighted by Alex:

> I was talking about earlier how important it is that there is a really vibrant, supportive, encouraging, cheering crowd because they actually do, they want to reach in and high five you, they do want to smile and shout 'Happy Pride!' and that for me was a key part. (Alex)

Again, there is an emphasis placed on how "they actually do" choose to initiate, and make a conscious effort, to make physical contact. Boundaries are

blurred between the audience, as being a passive receiver or observer (Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019), and the expressive crowd. At this event, they are an *expressive audience* who desire connection with the people they are watching; these physical interactions bring the audience into the performance of the parade. Many interviewees described how “people wanted to high five you, like, from the crowd. People wanted to give you a kiss. They wanted to give you a hug” (Zain). The need to physically connect with those in the parade evidences the role of touch in the sharing of experience. Haptic sensation is often overlooked in favour of facial-visual sharing even though it has been connected to how human experience begins in utero and the world is a shared experience physically through their mothers (Ciaunica, 2019). For recipients, it demonstrated a more unconditional support, reminiscent of loving behaviours, and reassurance that the audience was not just there in a voyeuristic role to be entertained or to fulfil their own pleasure.

The salience of touch may also be linked to LGBTQ+ individuals having personally experienced societal aversion to touching them or being near them throughout their lives (Froyum, 2007; Holmes & Cahill , 2004). Social revulsion in the form of overt prejudice and covert microaggressions are similar shared experiences, at school or work for example, and form part of their collective memories (Nadal et al., 2011; Nadal, 2018; Wertsch, 2009). Institutional anti-LGBTQ+ narratives and the construction of HIV as the “gay plague” fuelled fears of casual transmission from contact with LGBTQ+ individuals (Chubb & Fouché, 2020; Flowers & Langdridge, 2007; Gould, 2009; Lerche, 2016; Swain, 2005). The surprise that such simple social interactions elicited, initiated by the observing crowd, highlights the shame that was a component of interviewees’ emotional habitus. Also, surprisingly, the spatial arrangement that separated the observers and those in the parade facilitated

interactions that demonstrated perceptible, embodied expressions of support, unity and togetherness. In a less restricted configuration, without the observer-performer dynamic, there would have been no need to reach out in such a way. While this would have meant the parade was a freer queering of space and less of a stage for identity performance (Ammaturo, 2016) it would not have afforded participants such a unity-evoking affective encounter where subject and object are connected in ways that can subvert social and societal power relations (Butler, 2019; Papenburg & Zarzycka, 2013).

Many of the interactions recounted were associated with the "vibrant, supportive, encouraging, cheering crowd" (Alex); this example highlights how sight and sound were of primary importance in the perception of co-present, group emotion. Emotions were experienced, and made sense of, from what people heard and saw the "crowd" doing; they perceived, processed and made sense of emotions in an assemblage of people (Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019). Therefore, it was collective emotions, not individual ones, which informed their understanding of the event which influenced how they, in turn, responded emotionally and behaviourally. However, perception of these collective emotions, and the cues that informed emotional experience, were not the same for everyone:

> *…the best moment was seeing members of the crowd sign back deaf applause (which is quite similar to jazz hands) and the phrase 'happy Pride' as we marched. … It was so moving to see because it not only showed a sense of deaf awareness, but solidarity in terms of deaf and disabled people's important place in the LGBTQ+ community.*
>
> (Phoenix, typed response)

Not all attendees were afforded the privilege of experiencing ‘Pride in London’ through all senses. The requirement of sound, for a collective voice, could be presumed and was demonstrated in participants’ focus on the auditory as emotional cues for group emotion. Phoenix’s account challenges this because it offers an account of how only the observable crowd behaviours could evoke similar emotions. Similarly, communication and interaction between the parade and the expressive audience was not only vocally communicated through screaming and cheering. Communication was highly visual and created a connection or shared resonance, through the reciprocated “deaf applause” and signing of “happy Pride”. The crowd was still perceived as supportive, of his disability and LGBTQ+ status, as they were actively enabling and celebrating his group. These behaviours provided him with a sense of validation and togetherness; feelings that would be novel in a society where disability is a socially constructed form of oppression (Reeve, 2006) and he and his group are considered “sexual and gender outlaws” (Gould, 2009, p. 6). Phoenix described how “it was so moving to see” which accentuates the essential role that a physically present crowd played in the creation and facilitation of emotion at individual and group levels through observable collective behaviour.

Affectively Moved by Others

Following on from Phoenix’s account, an emotional response that deserves exploration in this case study is the simultaneous experience of positive and negative feelings that has been described as: “elevation” (Haidt, 2000; 2003) in response to witnessing examples of moral beauty or human virtue (Thomson & Siegel, 2017), “being moved” by situations where “positive values are brought to the fore and manifest themselves in a particularly salient way” (Cova & Deonna, 2014, p. 8; Cullhed, 2020) or “kama muta”, a more encompassing experience found across

time, language and culture, to a wide variety of stimuli; from cute images of animals and babies to instances of union and oneness with others (Fiske, Schubert, & Seibt, 2017; Fiske, 2019). Across the terms used, the literature agrees that it is a positive emotional experience, with an element of sadness, and that physiological responses include a warmth, or tingling, in one's chest, suppressed or shed tears and piloerection (goosebumps), however, self-reports do not have to include all responses (Zickfeld, Schubert, Seibt, & Fiske, 2019). Further, experiencing this emotion results in feeling more connected to, or positive about, others and increases helping behaviours (Thomson & Siegel, 2017; Zickfeld, Schubert, Seibt, & Fiske, 2019). Studies have shown it to be a low affective arousal, but high intensity, emotion (Menninghaus et al., 2015) that, unlike nostalgia, does not involve a longing for the past and is "an other-oriented emotion, [whereas] nostalgia is primarily categorized as a self-relevant emotion" (Zickfeld, Schubert, Seibt, & Fiske, 2019, p. 126).

There were implications of feeling moved or touched, as an individual, in the lead up to Pride in London although the main associations made were to visibility, relief and safety. Similarly, emotions and emotional reactions, of themselves and others while in the parade, were described throughout the interviews that support claims that this was a space of safety and relief;

> Some people are even in tears. As you might know yourself, if you've been on these marches, it's very moving… I guess it was excitement? Pride? I remember feeling emotional. I remember feeling a bit upset. I say upset but upset is not the right emotion. But I was ready for kind of crying but I think it was the idea of being able to do that without fear of judgement? Probably the relief that that brings. (Quinn)

When describing how others around him were reacting Quinn reflected on how this resonated with his own emotions being in the parade. He begins by focussing on the main positive emotions he remembered but quickly concludes they are insufficient to explain being “ready for kind of crying”. Quinn expressed this as freedom from judgement and the relief to be able to express himself openly, “to just be” (Zara), in a safe environment. The apparent confusion, and questioning, involved in his response could reflect difficulty navigating this positive experience because he realises that he, and therefore others, were not just experiencing joy. This highlights the importance of utilising an affective practices framework that considers discourse and embodiment of affect as a social practice. Questions requiring the rating of emotion labels, possibly in a survey format, or enquiry into specific expected emotions would have been unlikely to elicit such reflection. Priming participant responses, using prescribed emotion labels, would be unlikely to make provision for such emotional complexity (Wetherell, 2012). Familiar, easily recognised emotions, such as “excitement” and “pride”, may have been captured but the relief and emotional complexity would be missing.

Although relief was discussed by the majority of LGBTQ+ interviewees there were also those who were non-LGBTQ+ attending Pride in London. Zoe, a heterosexual female from the Mediterranean, recollected that her feelings in the parade “was good overwhelming feeling… I had the experience to be somewhere that homosexuality is accepted and celebrated… I would have cried. Tears would come in my eyes… it was a happy emotional state”. Once again, the description is that of being moved to tears and was associated with a variety of positive emotions. This was echoed by Thor, a Scandinavian, heterosexual male;

> I was totally blown away… Literally tears in my eyes when I was walking… it was so touching and moving with all the love and happiness… this outpouring of love you see from people that really struck me… it was a very overpowering feeling. (Thor)

In some ways there were similarities between these two individuals; the institutionalised nature of Pride in the UK was novel to them as they were non-UK natives, neither had attended a Pride parade before and they did not identify as members of the LGBTQ+ community. On the other hand, their life experiences were very different as a result of gender and, as per their own accounts, because Thor was socialised in a progressive country and Zoe in a less progressive one. Ultimately, both had an outsider perspective on the parade but, despite this, they agreed on their experience and their accounts were very similar to that provided by Quinn.

Thor and Zoe did not associate this affective response with feelings of safety or relief; rather they surmised it to be a direct result of the embodiment of emotion in others. There is a parallel with the validation experienced by LGBTQ+ people at the physical show of support and, while their own support or values may be validated, it is not their identity. Their accounts afford a broader understanding of the sense that Quinn made of his emotional response because, where relief and safety would be salient for LGBTQ+ people, there are other emotional elements involved. Consideration of only Quinn's understanding may lead to a conclusion that this was a group-based emotion requiring a shared LGBTQ+ identity. If conclusions were to be predicated on a shared identity, the analogous experiences of Zoe and Thor would indicate another shared identity. It is not, however, related to organisation or

cultural background. The only commonalities are physical involvement in the parade, being watched by a crowd and, presumably, shared values which is akin to an emergent shared social identity as a result of a shared collective experience (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020). The suggestion here is that it is not a group-based emotion and that, due to similar descriptions, this is not the expression of relief.

To reach an understanding of the emotion being conveyed there are consistent aspects that can be considered. First is their desire to cry, which was powerfully felt but not enacted. While tears, in adults, are generally perceived as a social cue of distress or sadness they can also be felt, and shed, in response to overwhelmingly positive situations when behavioural control is relinquished (Gracanin, Bylsma, & Vingerhoets, 2018). As a celebratory event, in which interviewees were surrounded by strangers, it would be inappropriate and uncomfortable, for themselves and others, to appear vulnerable or requiring help (Gammerl, Hutta, & Scheer, 2017). Further, physical crying can elicit negative emotions from others (Hendriks, Croon, & Vingerhoets, 2008), such as those in the parade or watching, which would be counter to how they would wish to be perceived or the feelings they were personally reacting to. There is a conscious effort to control the expression of emotion (Hochschild, 1979) that could be perceived, incorrectly, as negative by those around them. Alternatively, an inability to make sense of such an erroneous reaction, in the moment, leads to it being interpreted, and expressed, as something else (Fiske, Schubert, & Seibt, 2017).

The second consistent aspect was the difficulty expressing exactly what emotions or affects were felt. Quinn poses alternative emotions as questions. Thor and Zoe describe their experience as positive but “overwhelming” or “overpowering”. Other interviewees focus on the positive element as an “elated high I got from [Pride

in] London because I was just overwhelmed with emotion" (Nathan) or "the overwhelming atmosphere of happiness, proudness, joy. It was like we were in a place of just pure joy and happiness" (Freddy). Explicit in Thor's use of "it was touching and moving", Phoenix's "so moving to see" and implicit in these other descriptions, but demonstrated in these emotional combinations, is the emotion of "being moved" (Cova & Deonna, 2014). There is an intensity to these accounts that goes beyond that conceptualised in "kama muta" (Fiske, Schubert, & Seibt, 2017; Fiske, 2019) and not restricted to the observing of moral beauty or virtue as with "elevation" (Haidt, 2000; 2003). Awe is a possible alternative description but this is generally associated with reverence at being confronted by power or vastness (Menninghaus et al., 2015; Zickfeld, Schubert, Seibt, & Fiske, 2019) or "being in the presence of something powerful, along with associated feelings of submission" (Keltner & Haidt, 2003, p. 303). While "just seeing Regent Street lined with that many people who were there [was] overwhelmingly positive" (Gordon) suggests the vast size of the watching crowd at Pride in London, potentially evoking awe, the interviewees did not hint at a perception of overwhelming power or a desire to submit to one. Participant accounts emphasise the observable positive emotions, and values, in others; locating their emotional responses in, or with, them and providing descriptions that resonate with Cova & Deonna's (2014) statement that "being moved" is an "invasive depth of the feeling […] but also the concomitant sense of satisfaction or contentment, a state of relief perhaps" (p. 12).

Finally, as mentioned earlier, this emotion could not be directly tied to a shared identity, therefore, this leads to the question is this experience individual or is it collective? Laboratory research concluded that the feeling of "being moved" was less intense when imagined in a public setting (Jakobs, Manstead, & Fischer, 1996;

Manstead & Fischer, 2001) which would suggest its inhibition in a social setting. While “being moved” as a collective has often been considered in terms of the emotional motivators that mobilise a group to collective action (Eyerman, 2005; Gollnhofer & Kuruoglu, 2018) it has only been theoretically applied to groups and collectives; “kama muta” was proposed as a more psychologically robust theory to explicate Durkheim’s (1912) concept of collective effervescence and Turner’s (1969) concept of communitas (Fiske, Seibt, & Schubert, 2019). This research suggests that being moved emotionally can be tentatively applied to a group or collective when they are physically engaged in the same form of co-present collective action. Moreover, it indicates that ‘imagined’ scenarios are not equivalent to real experience and, in this instance, may be linked to concerns about the presumed inappropriateness of public displays of some emotions which could be negatively perceived (Gracanin, Bylsma, & Vingerhoets, 2018; Hendriks, Croon, & Vingerhoets, 2008) or indicate signs of weakness or submission.

Interviewee accounts of “being moved” discussed mainly suggest a very personal experience; there was no use of collective pronouns and recollections were self-referential when talking about their experience of “being moved” by the parade. As an affective-discursive practice it constructs a national event as a “culturally valuable occasion” of positive emotional valence (McConville, Wetherell, McCreanor, Borrell, & Moewaka Barnes, 2020, p. 140) while simultaneously acting as more than a rhetorical device. In this situation, being moved could not be considered an embodied affective practice to *consciously* communicate feeling, however, it was recognised as a unique felt affective response in oneself and others. Crucially, it was not an uncommon experience and was recounted by various, unconnected interviewees. As it was independent of organisation, social group membership and

specific location it suggests it was widespread. Also, it was recognised in others in the parade, as in Quinn's account, because "they have these shining faces… it's like a positive shock" (Anja). Considering this as a manifestation of collective emotion(s) is not impossible because they are not solely predicated on a defined shared identity, rather, the parade fulfils the elements of co-presence, co-ordinated behaviour and collective intentions or concerns (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Bringing these elements together with the recollections in this section there is an indication of synchronicity and convergence of "being moved" emotionally as a collective.

Realising the "Imagined Community"

A commonly utilised concept within public and political discourse, the "media, policy and practice arenas, as well as research", including this thesis, is that of the "LGBTQ+ community" which suggests it is a concrete reality (Formby, 2017, p. 10). However, because members will never meet, interact or know all other members this is a socially constructed "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) where "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 14). That they are imagined is furthered by the invisibility of their individual status as "sexual and gender outlaws" (Gould, 2009, p. 6) and being geographically dispersed within heteronormative society (Pullen, 2009). Consequently, research has gone on to consider the "imagined LGBTQ+ community"; often with a focus on one part of this such as the "imagined gay community" (Woolvine, 2000), "imagined lesbian community" (Koller, 2008), "imagined queer community" (Ciszek, 2014), and so on.

Researchers agree that such communities exist for LGBTQ+ individuals and that they influence the construction of personal and collective identity through narratives presented in publically accessible media (Pullen, 2007; 2009). Where

studies have found that this imagined community is acknowledged by LGBTQ+ individuals it has been demonstrated to be in an idealized form (Easterbrook, Carpiano, Kelly, & Parsons, 2014) that they emotionally distance themselves from because sexuality is not a central part of their identity (Holt, 2011; Woolvine, 2000). Furthermore, as society has become more accepting of LGBTQ+ people, these narratives have evolved within a heteronormative framework (Pullen, 2009). As a result queer sexuality and gender are presented in ways that are tolerable to a more mainstream audience, increasingly comprised of a non-LGBTQ+ majority, but which results in the flattening of identity (Ciszek, 2017). Contrastingly, Formby (2017) found that her participants gained a sense of belonging from the imagined LGBT community, paralleling Anderson's (1991) notion of nationalism, which could be found in "shared history, cultural symbols and rituals such as the rainbow flag and Pride events" (Formby, 2017, p. 156).

In collective gatherings "imagined communities" transform into a reality as they manifest (Reicher, 2011; Khan et al., 2016). Pride in London is such an event where LGBTQ+ and "queer people are visible to each other simply by gathering together en masse" (McFarland Bruce, 2016, p. 178) and the "notion of the LGBT community is realised" (Formby, 2017, p. 138). As an embodied community with common cause feelings of isolation and fear are alleviated. As will be further demonstrated, previously imagined communities came into being for LGBTQ+ and supportive individuals as an immediate, physical audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Reicher, 2011) which reinforced feelings of relief, safety and trust in what the symbols of Pride represent.

While research concerned with the LGBTQ+ community, specifically in reference to Pride events, has prioritised the in-group (Formby, 2017; McFarland

Bruce, 2016) this case study found that the concept of imagined communities extends beyond this. Pride in London was not just a space to be with like-minded others or “people that shared the same feelings as I did” (Phoenix) it was also about a visible other;

> My hunch, which may or may not be correct, there was a significant proportion of straight people that were there…. I think there is something about kinship in terms of ‘Oh, I’m surrounded by lots of other gay people, that’s great.’ But probably more importantly is that I am accepted and supported by people who aren’t. (Alex)

Here we can see that there was an awareness of the presence of “straight people” and that this was both positive and important. It was a sentiment echoed by most interviewees as they talked about how this was evidence of being accepted and supported by wider society. As in Alex’s reflection, the presence of the out-group was more important, for some participants, than members of the in-group because of the support and acceptance it demonstrated. Across interviews, discussion around external support of the community was both apprehensive and grateful with participants often expressing both;

> We need friends. We need to accept people who are questioning. We need family. But I do think they should be the minority and they should know when to step out of a space that isn’t theirs… I would rather be accepted and slightly oppressed than very oppressed and not accepted. (Rose)

A Foucauldian discourse analytic approach would emphasise the relationship between discourse and subjectivity through the construction of social and

psychological realities that position speakers to “open up or close down opportunities for action” (Willig, 2001, p. 111). In both accounts there is an interesting tension between speakers’ positions of “us” and “I” and this was reflected across the interviewees; When speaking on behalf of the LGBTQ+ community, the imagined out-group was positioned as a potential threat, whereas when speaking for themselves as a member of that community, using “I”, they welcomed the involvement of non-LGBTQ+ groups. This is a discursive practice of identifying as a member of the “imagined gay community” and feeling a responsibility to protect or emotionally identify with them. On the other hand, using a different strategy when speaking for oneself indicates a separation or distancing of oneself from the same psychological group (Woolvine, 2000). For some interviewees, such as Alex, being accepted into society, and witnessing this as a physical reality, was of utmost importance; even to the point that desires for the community to be afforded collective agency and ownership of Pride space are negotiable in the pursuit of acceptance. Rose’s preference for being “slightly oppressed than very oppressed” was not explicitly echoed by other participants but the value placed on acceptance by mainstream society was paramount for many.

A couple of interviewees did this by highlighting that certain dress was inappropriate because “what you do in the bedroom is entirely up to you but it shouldn’t be, Pride shouldn’t be, the space to show off your fetishes” (Nathan) and “some people don't necessarily want to see guys dressed in leather walking around” (Lisa). These are clear examples of there being tolerable terms and conditions of acceptance by society that are supported by allies and individuals within the LGBTQ+ community. It underlines fears expressed, by other participants, that by “trying to homogenise it [the community] to make it more acceptable [to wider

society]" (Callum) the community was "being completely stripped of any radical or subversive or dangerous characteristics we might have had. Like we are being contained. We are being tamed" (Warren). This demonstrates the notion that there are narratives created around the "imagined gay community" that inform what is, and is not, permissible; idealised versions of queer identity that have evolved over time (Pullen, 2009). It also hints at the de-centralising of sexuality within the LGBTQ+ community (Holt, 2011), for younger participants, as such narratives move into a "post-gay era" where inclusion and similarity are promoted (Ghaziani, 2011). Further, it echoes anti-LGBTQ+ public discourse from the 1980's and 1990's that surrounded laws such as Section 28 and the HIV crisis (Glass, 2020; Gould, 2009; Greenland & Nunney, 2008). This was only a small minority of those interviewed, however, it shows there are those within the LGBTQ+ community that were unlikely to be an imagined part of it: those who advocate for oppressing parts of the collective in their aspiration to be individually accepted[4].

The actions, activities and queering of spaces prior to the day of the parade implied a supportive society, beyond interviewees' local experiences as individuals. Attending the parade results in this becoming a discernible object, that is, those affective practices of endorsement that were employed by local establishments and government agencies, through flags and decorations, is emphasised in a corporeal presence. Similarly, those same symbols signify support for the concept of an imagined LGBTQ+ community, an intangible 'other', which also manifests at Pride as

[4] As a qualitative researcher I think it would be remiss not to mention my own reaction and reflection to reading, and re-reading, these comments. I am extremely grateful to my interviewees for their candour, however, Rose, Lisa and Nathan's remarks do evoke feelings of shock and upset. Logically I know more conservative perspectives exist within the LGBTQ+ community but they are an "imagined community" for me. And, while I empathise with their wish to be accepted, I was struck by the use of rhetoric that paralleled that used by anti-LGBTQ+ campaigners; it means that the fears, expressed by other participants, about "being contained" and "tamed" are ones that resonate with me personally.

a real, physical entity for the rest of society. The ability to see, and feel, support from such a wide spectrum of co-present people, in the parade and those watching it, had a profound effect on many of the interviewees. For some it was because “working for an organisation that actively supported me attending and being part of this has been so powerful to me” (Vince). The use of “actively” is important because it is this that has such an impact on Vince; it is also what is salient throughout this section. While the emotions prior to the parade were positive responses to the shift in emotional habitus, critical to feelings of safety at the parade, the actions prompting them were *representations* of support from a passive, imagined community. They send a strong, undeniable message but they can be perceived as disingenuous or unrepresentative. What happens on the day of Pride is that the message materialises and can be felt in an undeniable, corporeal mass of collected bodies (Butler, 2015; Lilja, 2017). Feelings of relief, safety and trust associated with those corporate bodies and establishments that physically took part in the parade.

As Eric explained “because I spent a good many years being closeted, I think it is a reaffirmation that I made the right choice in coming out”. A similar effect was described by all LGBTQ+ participants regardless of how long ago they had come out;

> It validates you. It makes you feel good. It makes you feel important. It makes you special. It makes you feel something. Like a part of something bigger which somehow even makes you feel like an individual… just feeling of support, supporting one another, being very safe and being part of something bigger than yourself (Ginny)

This confirms the existence of real, rather than imagined, groups of people that are "supporting one another" and these visible others are there to acknowledge and celebrate the LGBTQ+ community in a way that extends beyond those known personally to each interviewee. As Ginny remarks, this happens on different levels that interact, intensify and complement each other; feeling recognised as unique at an individual level and identifying this in, and sharing it with, others and becoming "part of something bigger than yourself". Importantly, unlike traditional crowd theories such as "deindividuation" (Le Bon, 1896), this was not experienced as the loss of her sense of self within a multitude but rather a sense of being part of a whole that reinforced her individual identity which *"augments* and *empowers* the group" (Swann Jr., Jetten, Gómez, Whitehouse, & Bastian, 2012, p. 452).

Furthermore, challenging institutional heteronormativity through the imposition of the collective LGBTQ+ identity on heteronormative space would be empowering because it constitutes "an imposition of self or identity in the world" (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p. 718) through collective action against perceived illegitimate behaviour. What this analysis evidences is that empowerment of the group is not derived from confrontation alone "but also on internal processes that often start from affective resonances in small groups and safe spaces" (Mühlhoff, 2019, p. 199). There was a juxtaposition of taking a provocative stance toward the out-group and desires of emotional validation and acceptance from the out-group. In-group sharing of emotion validates individual feeling, strengthens affective ties and social bonds (Rimé, 2009) which results in a more positive experience of collective action. Simultaneously, the non-LGBTQ+ out-group plays a role that supports, facilitates and emboldens through a physical show of solidarity which is unexplored in existing research on Pride events (McFarland Bruce, 2016) or in the LGBTQ+ community more widely (Formby, 2017).

The sense that interviewees made of their experiences, their perceptions, was that the co-present out-group had a vital role in the creation of intense collective emotion.

While group boundaries are maintained, the parade format and inclusivity of the Pride colours, offers the LGBTQ+ community a way of presenting themselves to the sympathetic yet dominant, heteronormative, group (Taylor & Whittier, 1992) that is safe for in-group members and attractive to the out-group (Danaher, 2010). These social practices and the arrangement of physical space encourage interaction and collaboration that promote feelings of togetherness across socially constructed, and physical, boundaries. Also, individual, group-based and collective emotions, such as pride and shame, are expressed and experienced differently in celebratory and conflictual scenarios (Sullivan & Day, 2019) and, as this is a celebratory event, there is no aim or expectation of conflict which is reinforced and facilitated through the behaviour of the various groups present.

Unbound Parade Emotion

All interviewees described the atmosphere of ‘Pride in London’, not just their individual emotions or those they felt on behalf of a group, but rather their perceptions and accounts of affect around them. Statements such as “the atmosphere in the whole city was just fantastic” (Thor) and as there being “community spirit in London, which is unusual for Londoners, but I think it was more, it felt friendlier” (Jordan). Possibly, this is a result of a shared social identity (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020), positive emotion as a group norm (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a; 2009b) or being at an event celebrating that identity but such explanations would be overly simplistic. Affect is spoken of as beyond themselves and attributable to something more collective and, while Jordan was part

of the LGBTQ+ community, with previous Pride experience, this was not the case for Thor, therefore, a purely identity-driven explanation of this social phenomena cannot be assumed for all attendees. Jordan describes a “community spirit” whereas Thor is less specific about what it was. Other participants also had difficulty defining something where “the effect is something you can feel more than see” (Ginny) and, as Zoe explained, “it's really a feeling. I can't tell you this is what happened. It felt like the world had stopped on that day and everybody out there. There was nothing else around”. It was a felt affect, tangible, but without a corporeal presence which could be evidence of emotional or affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009; 2014; Griffero, 2010; 2020).

The positive feeling was likely felt to extend beyond the physical parade, as discussed, as a result of collective affective practices that preceded the event combined with feelings and observations on the day itself. An element that complements the discussion on fear and safety, for LGBTQ+ people, was what this space afforded them compared in everyday life. Gordon explained that, when usually in London, he and his husband “don't tend to have that much interaction, you know, in a couple way. But there was just a feeling that London was very different on Saturday”. This continues this idea of there being a different atmosphere as a result of Pride, not just the parade itself, because there wasn’t “any risk to us or anyone saying anything” (Quinn). Some of the participants talked about how they could be publically affectionate with the ones they loved, behaviours taken for granted by the heteronormative majority, without fear of reprisal. Pride in London and the queering of space are not just about challenging heteronormativity (Browne & Bakshi, 2011; Doderer, 2011; Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a), it is also about a “wholeness of being. And it's fantastic. It's a real relief. Yeah. Yes it's important to be

able to just, to just be and not have to think" (Zara). Attending Pride in London allows freedom to express oneself without the need to curtail behaviour as required in normal life (Browne, 2007; Formby, 2017). These accounts of liberation highlight the effort that LGBTQ+ people go to keep themselves safe, through self-censorship, and the relief when such social restraints are lifted.

Similarly, interviewees who talked about the end of the parade depicted Pride in London as a something that encapsulated them. Callum, and some of his parade group, went across the River Thames to Southbank and he explained how perceptions of the event could be misleading because it had felt like there was "this kind of massive Pride umbrella or force field or whatever that kind of covers the whole city and actually it isn't". While not offered as a negative evaluation it was a palpable difference that resonated with him finding the end of the parade "deflating". Expanding on the idea of an umbrella or force field, Zara associates it with feelings of togetherness, connection and performance:

> There was something about the event where you had this sort of feeling of we are all one big family… so you crossed this sort of vortex where you then return to the normal world and you're like 'Oh, here we go at being normal again', you know. (Zara)

The language used evokes concepts of being safe; umbrellas shelter one from less desirable elements, force fields repel danger and families offer security and protection. Zara distinguished between Pride space and the rest of London because there was a "return to the normal world" where restrictions on LGBTQ+ identities are reasserted and a performance of "being normal" begrudgingly resumed. Further, this was not just a feeling it was also enacted "before we went [home] we put flags away

and took some of the extravagant makeup off and stuff" (Rose). This change was not an unexpected shock for Pride attendees. Adherence to rules of conduct, imposed by heteronormative society on LGBTQ+ people, was begun in advance of leaving. Boundaries of the "vortex", between Pride space and "the normal world", were not physical but they were known and the perception of an all-encompassing atmosphere, across London, is re-emphasised and conspicuous by its absence (Anderson, 2009; 2014; Griffero, 2010; 2020) or as a shock in moving from one atmosphere to another (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2015; rua Wall, 2019).

Where Pride space was experienced as localised to a physical area the same could not be said for how Pride had made interviewees feel with some "riding a high of emotions for the day and a few days after" (Nathan) or even "a few days or weeks but the memories and the discussions and positivity around it really just will last as long as you keep them going" (Ginny). As interviews were held less than a month after the parade these were very recent experiences, while still memories, with ongoing effects felt in the present. The continuance and revival of emotions is not the same as nostalgia because, while there are elements of pleasure, loss and uniqueness, the event is not temporally distant (van Tilburg, Sedikides, Wildschut, & Vingerhoets, 2019). It may, however, transform into nostalgia if Pride becomes a focal, longed for, past event or as a coping mechanism in response to negative life events (Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009; Sedikides & Wildschut, 2019). The experience of re-experiencing emotion was reflected on by some participants as it happened in their interview. Some seemed surprised because they "didn't expect to feel as emotional talking to you as I do" (Callum) and how they "felt very moved by it [Pride]. I'm reminded of it speaking to you actually" (Vince). While oppression by heteronormative society may have reasserted itself, interviewees foregrounded the

positive emotions that they wanted to share with others and use them as a motivation for future action.

Sixteen interviewees felt galvanised to act in ways to improve the daily experiences of LGBTQ+ people and this is attributed to “that tidal wave of the day. It’s got to power something. It’s got to go somewhere. Otherwise it is just a day” (Callum); participants felt there was a powerful, palpable emotional energy (Collins, 2004) generated at Pride in London. Across the participants, this desire and emotional energy were translated into a variety of activities and actions such as; proposing more inclusive programming to the Pride organisers (Sandra), increased involvement with local LGBTQ+ networks (Gordon), petitioning NHS management for increased support for the transgender community (Callum), volunteering with LGBTQ+ mental health services (Rose), increasing LGBTQ+ staff network activities (Quinn) and planning for a better presence at the next Pride in London parade (Anja). These individual actions, taken at local levels within organisations or more generally within the LGBTQ+ community, are a direct result of involvement in Pride in London. Attendance at the event, in the parade or as observer, strengthened social bonds to the imagined LGBTQ+ community. The indication is that the physical co-presence, shared emotional experience and sense of togetherness generated act as a catalyst to help others beyond the event itself.

Summary

In this case study, participants’ emotional journeys began in advance of the parade. Excitement about the event built in the weeks and months beforehand as a result of widespread affective practices that endorsed and promoted ‘Pride in London’. Everyday feelings of isolation, fear and shame became feelings of safety,

inclusion and pride; as this habitus shifts positively the opportunities for personal expression became possible as a physical collective. On the day of the parade, Pride colours functioned to identify similar others and create an emergent social collective that was not comprised solely of presumed in-group members. An important feature of the parade was that imagined communities became real(ised) and connected, physically and psychologically, through the affective practices and use of space; these elements served as cultural bridging practices to encourage solidarity, togetherness and safety. Emotions recounted are those that are perceived in, or are a response to, collective emotions of others (Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019) and, as shown in the analysis on “being moved” (Cova & Deonna, 2014), affect is perceived as tangible and inspires sharing of emotions and a sense of resonance, or togetherness, between people. In the final case study these features will be explored in more depth through triangulating interviewee accounts with observational analysis of video footage.

Chapter 6 : Together for the Final Say, London (October 2019)

This case study returns the focus of the thesis to Brexit a few months after the first case study. The chapter will begin by outlining events subsequent to the Put it to the People March (PPM) that had been held in March 2019 (see Chapter 4) detailing the changed social and political context of Brexit. After briefly providing an overview of the case study the analysis will begin by examining how involvement in this issue was maintained and the sense that interviewees made of their continued resistance in an intractable situation. Focus will then turn to how the march itself was experienced and understood as a space to express their discontent through provocative humour which strengthened feelings of togetherness. Finally, the juxtaposition of collective tension and euphoria, in response to unexpected march features, will be explored as novel features of this protest.

As discussed in Chapter 4, much of the literature concerned with responses to the EU referendum result detail the initial shock and anger experienced by those opposed to Brexit (Chadha, 2016; Jackson, Thorsen, & Wring, 2016; Latter, 2016). As time progressed, the division between Leave and Remain supporters had increased as a result of misunderstanding and prejudice (Hughes, 2019; Seidler, 2018) which has resulted in the affective polarisation of Britain (Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020). As part of this, strong loyalties had built around identities of being either a Remainer or Leaver (Curtice, 2018; Evans & Schaffner, 2019; Hobolt, 2016; Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020; Meredith & Richardson, 2019). The mobilizing effect of such emotions (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001) was recounted by all interviewees in Chapter 4 and, as new participant accounts in this case study largely complemented rather than challenged those findings, will not be detailed here.

The Unrelenting Instability of Brexit

The socio-political landscape in the UK had evolved since the Put it to the People March (PPM; see Chapter 4 for an overview of the situation preceding that demonstration). The UK was expected to leave the European Union on the 29th March 2019, six days after the PPM, but remained an EU member due to the Prime Minister, Theresa May, being unable to gain a majority vote in the House of Commons for her proposed exit deal (Walker, 2020). On the 10th of April the European Council agreed "to an extension to allow for the ratification of the Withdrawal Agreement" although it was stipulated that such an agreement "should last only as long as necessary and, in any event, no longer than 31 October 2019" (European Council, 2019). Subsequently, on the 24th of May, Theresa May resigned her post stating it was "a matter of deep regret to me that I have not been able to deliver Brexit" (May, 2019) and Boris Johnson took office, after winning the Conservative Party leadership vote, on the 24th July 2019 (Walker, 2020).

In his first address as Prime Minister Johnson emphasised his stance that failure to leave the EU at this point demonstrated how "we are incapable of honouring a basic democratic mandate". He also drew heavily on narratives of the British Empire as an unstoppable force because "no one in the last few centuries has succeeded in betting against the pluck and nerve and ambition of this country" (Johnson, 2019). Publically positioning Brexit critics as undemocratic and unpatriotic continued the disparagement and silencing of its opponents in parliament and the general public. In his determination to ensure the UK left the EU, by the 31st of October, Johnson proposed an early general election and the proroguing of Parliament. As these actions were taken before the withdrawal deadline, Remain supporters construed them as attempts to undermine their ability to challenge Brexit

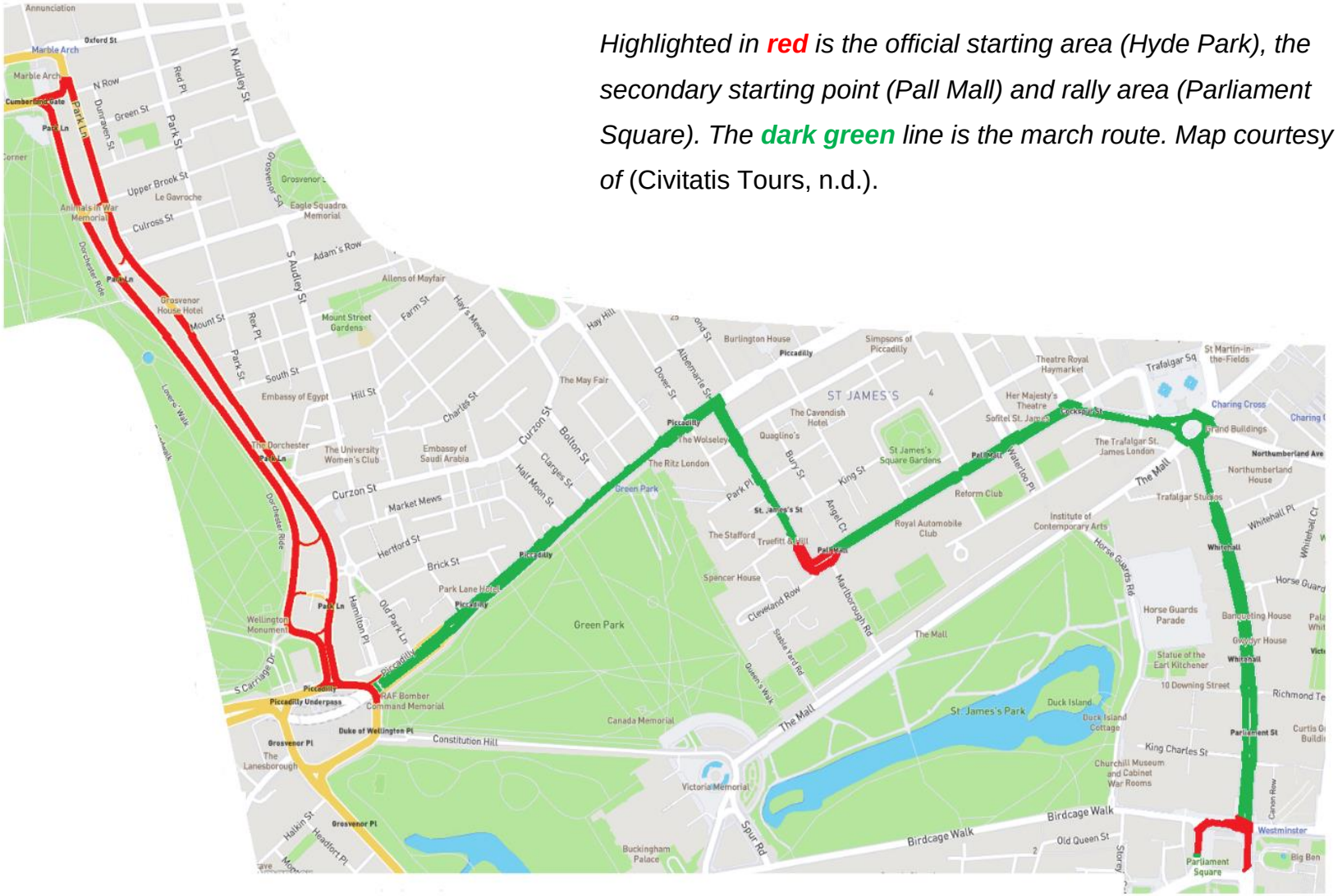
(Elgot, 2019) and distrust in the British Government deepened (Jennings, 2021). The Supreme Court also “found that proroguing for five weeks, rather than the normal four to five days, in the run-up to the major constitutional change on 31 October was unlawful” and quashed the decision (Hogarth, 2019)

During this time, the ‘No-Deal Readiness Report’ was published in October (Walker, 2020) in response to the ‘Operation Yellowhammer” documents leaked to the national press a month before (Urwin & Wheeler, 2019). These reports fuelled public concern because, while Johnson publically attested to the contrary, they were not potential forecasts *if* no deal was agreed with the EU but rather preparations for *when* this occurred (Rea, 2019). Also, just ten days before the anti-Brexit march examined in this case study, Johnson announced a Saturday sitting of Parliament to debate the latest terms agreed for the withdrawal (Mairs, 2019; Walker, 2020). This coincided with the Benn Act deadline enshrined in law earlier that year, which included the Letwin Amendment that required Johnson to “postpone ratification of the deal until Parliament has passed the complex set of legislation required to enact it” (Wilkinson & Lewis, 2019). As a consequence the Saturday sitting of Parliament, an event that had not happened since 1982 (Mairs, 2019), took place which was conducted at the same time as the protest which was organised to end in Parliament Square adjacent to the Houses of Parliament.

The febrile political and social atmosphere around Brexit was exacerbated by stalled negotiations between the EU and the UK and the ongoing inability to find compromise within UK’s political parties (Kirby, 2019). This has led to government think tanks questioning the oversight, power and resources that Parliament have to perform its role as a democratic system (Institute for Government, 2019). Such discord has solidified divisions within the UK public, entrenching Remain and Leave

supporters in their opposing positions, with Britain being described as a country at war with itself (Coe, 2019). The political upheaval was expected to influence the emotional habitus of attendees and shape their engagement with the march.

The 'Together for the Final Say March' (FSM), the fourth large-scale People's Vote campaign march was held on the 19th October 2019, a couple of weeks before the re-rescheduled Brexit deadline (moved from March 31st to October 31st 2019). Speakers in Parliament Square were pro-Remain celebrities, such as comedienne Sandi Toksvig, and politicians, such as Conservative MP Michael Heseltine (Honeycombe-Foster, 2019). The march format and route replicated previous marches (see Fig. 6.1). As highlighted on Fig 6.1, attendees were distributed across the route as a result of there being two starting points. Another salient difference to the previous marches was the live vote held in Parliament for the Letwin Amendment. Using a pluralistic methodology that better captured these differences, the specific research questions that were addressed are: how patterns and displays of collective emotion are influenced and shaped by the practice and presence of (real or imagined) others, as well as, how do affective practices affect the cohesiveness of an assembled group and how does this, in turn, influence the collective emotion generated. Further, the analysis will evidence the importance of moving beyond somatic and cognitivist theories of group emotion to include affective and bodily dynamics (Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019)



*Highlighted in **red** is the official starting area (Hyde Park), the secondary starting point (Pall Mall) and rally area (Parliament Square). The **dark green** line is the march route. Map courtesy of* (Civitatis Tours, n.d.).

Figure 6.1 Map of Final Say March Route

Method

Consistent with the previous case studies, data was collected through semi-structured interviews. An important variation was the ability to re-interview some participants from the first case study which provided a longitudinal aspect to the research. A second important methodological change, as detailed in Chapter 3, was the use of a 360-degree camera to record the protest and subsequently analyse the captured footage. As with the Pride case study, all interviews were retrospective accounts, however, this was not considered to be a methodological limitation for the reasons outlined previously.

Recruitment and Participants

Eighteen interviews were conducted after the march, as pre-event interviews conducted in similar research had not been found to significantly alter participant recollections (see Chapter 4). For this study, 11 participants had previously taken part in the PPM case study (see top half of Table 6.1) and seven new participants were recruited using methods described in Chapter 3.

All interviewees had previously attended anti-Brexit marches organised by the People's Vote and, where eligible, voted "Remain"; two reported that they would have voted this way had they been eligible. Over half of the participants (61%) were female and the majority were aged between 36 and 55 (66%). Two lived outside of the UK and two were not UK nationals. Based on information gleaned from their interviews, rather than the demographic questions, all were educated to at least undergraduate level. Table 6.1 also summarizes participants' occupation, nationality, county (residence), and their history of participation in previous marches.

Alias	Occupation	Nationality	Current Residence	Gender	Age Range	Politically Active	Attended October 2018 March	Attended March 2019 March	Interview Method FSM
Karen	Office Manager (Research)	UK	West Midlands	Female	36-45	Past 10yrs	Yes	No	In Person
Colin	Research (Theology)	UK	East Midlands	Male	56-65	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Ryan	Research (Social Psych)	International	West Midlands	Male	46-55	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	In Person
Heidi	Retired	Europe	East Midlands	Female	56-65	Since EU Ref	No	Yes	Telephone
Yvette	Civil Service	UK	North West	Female	56-65	Since EU Ref	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Wayne	Lecturer/Research (Social Psych)	UK	South West	Male	46-55	Most of My Life	No	Yes	Telephone
Kate	Teaching Prof. *(Retired since PPM)*	UK	North East	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Louise	Civil Service	UK	North West	Female	56-65	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Jill	Civil Service	UK	East Midlands	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	No	Yes	Telephone
Beth	Management Consultant	UK	North East	Female	46-55	Past 10yrs	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Leslie	Housing Refugees in the UK	UK	North East	Male	56-65	Since EU Ref	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Ruth	PhD Student	Wales	South West	Female	46-55	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	In Person
Christian	Unknown	England	South West	Male	36-45	Most of My Life	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Brad	Research Academic	UK	West Midlands	Male	36-45	Past 10yrs	Yes	Yes	Telephone
Isobel	Unknown	England	North East	Female	36-45	Most of My Life	No	Yes	Telephone
Evie	Teacher	UK	Norway	Female	36-45	Since EU Ref	Yes	No	Telephone
Ian	Research (Sociology)	UK	Spain	Male	36-45	Most of My Life	Yes	No	In Person
Flora	Unknown	UK	North East	Female	26-35	Past 10yrs	No	Yes	Telephone

Table 6.1 *Participant Information (FSM)*

Data Collection and Analysis

Fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted by telephone and four were held in person with the average duration being an hour. New participants to the research were questioned as detailed in Chapter 3 (See also Appendix S). Returning participants, from the first case study, were only asked about their recent involvement and experience since March 2019 to avoid repetition. Interviews were

transcribed verbatim including paralinguistic features such as tone of voice, laughter or other sounds conveying emotion or indicating affective practices (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019; Rapley, 2007).

Observational videos were created using a 360-degree, 4K Samsung Gear positioned on a monopod elevated above the head of the person recording. Video recordings proved to be a valuable asset in the triangulation of events and behaviours described in participant testimonies alongside media reports of the march (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014; Denzin, 1978). Unique to this case study was the creation of a transcript detailing the sequence of events captured by the 360-degree footage (see Appendix Z and Chapter 3).

The transcribed interviews were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019) with particular attention paid to implicit and explicit references of elements within the theoretical framework; this was not done at the expense of new themes being created as a line-by-line coding approach was still undertaken. Similarly, the transcript of video recorded events of march features described as emotionally salient during the interviews was thematically analysed. No attempts were made to force ideas and concepts out of the data or impose pre-existing theoretical interpretations onto it.

Analysis and Discussion of Themes

Analysis is presented using the multi-method affective practices case study approach alongside aspects of the theoretical framework as outlined in Chapter 2. Themes are presented in a broadly chronological order, before and during the march. Interviewee accounts, video footage of the protest and media sources are used in the analysis to exemplify how, and why, attendees coalesce around the anti-

Brexit position and sustain continued engagement with collective action. How participants constructed and made sense of salient, novel events during the protest is also explored.

An Intermission of Reactions, Resistance and Revitalisation

In this first section the emotional synchronisation, of the imagined in-group, in advance of the march will be explored, as well as, how this led to the emergence of a social collective (Collins, 2004; Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008; Mackie & Smith, 2017; Sullivan, 2018; von Scheve, 2019). An awareness of others holding similar values, intentions and concerns in advance of the march provided a background for collective emotions to be felt at the physical protest without the requirement of being involved in established groups (Mühlhoff, 2019; Salmela, 2014a; Sullivan, 2018; Thonhauser, 2020). The pervading emotional background sentiments prior to the FSM were described as: “a sense of doom, since the March deadline, and hopelessness that is underlying” (Karen). The source of this “doom”, also described as “despondency” (Yvette) and “despair” (Beth), was attributed to the ongoing nature of Brexit, the dogmatic stance of the ruling Conservative party to deliver the ‘will of the people’ and the inability of opposing political parties to reach a consensus on how to challenge this;

> I have to keep buoying up the troops and finding the positive. But at home, on my own, I do feel I do feel incredibly despondent about it all because, if the opposition [MPs opposed to Brexit] got their act together and Labour got their act together, it just could have been sorted out a year or two years ago. (Yvette)

The lack of resolution since the 2016 referendum, either by leaving the EU or implementing a People's Vote, resulted in a depressed emotional habitus, or "hopelessness" (Karen), which required the intervention of others as Yvette's account shows. Low feeling is presented as reserved for those who wish to remain in the EU, however, it was a sentiment reported across political, social and class divides in the UK after March 2019 (Hughes, 2019; Iqbal, 2019). The language employed would also indicate that Yvette constructs Brexit as a civil war; where the political parties have not "got their act together", Remainers are "the troops" and, as chairperson of her local People's Vote group, she has the role of a leading and motivating others in a similar way to an army General. It is a narrative that had been taken up with more frequency in the year since the People's Vote March in October 2018 (Coomasaru, 2019) with comparisons being made to historical events, such as the First and Second World Wars and the English Civil War, by politicians (Walker, 2019), academics (Collignon, 2018) and the UK media (Coe, 2019; English, 2019). Employing these kinds of analogies creates and reinforces national division over Brexit suggesting a negative emotional habitus, comprised of distrust and fear, where political horizons and the opportunities afforded are restricted (Gould, 2009) as hope and possibility diminish for Remainers.

While such narratives may emphasise and exacerbate division, Yvette's account evokes notions of togetherness and shared commitment that exemplifies 'we-mode' emotions produced within a collective (Tuomela, 2007); these are "troops" with agreed shared intentions, rather than personal and internalised commitments of 'I-mode' or aggregative collectivity, who are mobilised as a collective at a local level. Her remarks could also be interpreted as highlighting the need to maintain this shared intention through emotion management (Hochschild, 1979). Or, alternatively,

the importance of establishing, and reinforcing, emotion norms for the group to sustain a cohesive identity and commitment to act; as proposed in the “normative alignment model” (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a). Yvette, and other interviewees, implied that negative emotions were restricted to particular spaces at a personal, individual level and succumbed to privately “at home, on my own“. At a collective level it is about “finding the positive”, in the face of uncertainty, to foster continued engagement; in such groups there is a concerted effort to develop a positive atmosphere and control more negative personal and group-based emotions (della Porta & Giugni, 2013).

This example demonstrates how narratives around Brexit brought people together and galvanised them into action, as a collective, to challenge a perceived threat (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Jasper, 2011) and, as discussed in Chapter 4, to continue sending the message that leaving the EU was not ‘the will of [all] the people’. Intergroup emotions theorists would explain these as group-based emotions resulting from the activation of a group identity whereby the group affiliation precedes and determines emotional response (Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008; Mackie & Smith, 2017) or simply the positive emotions that can result from being part of psychological group and enacting a shared social identity (Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020). As explanations they are applicable to those involved in anti-Brexit groups where Remain identities were regularly reinforced and activated. However, as only eight of the participants were involved with local, grassroots anti-Brexit groups this does raise questions about how those outside of locally organised structures, but who considered themselves part of the imagined Remainer community, maintained their motivation to attend the FSM and how this influenced their emotions on the day of the march.

One answer lies in the mediated narratives of societal division and conflict that even those who were not engaged with grassroots groups were still subjected to as members of the same mass audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; McQuail, 1997). From a critical discourse analysis perspective, language is employed in different ways to control citizens through persuasion and manipulation (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Discourses around Brexit, from sources such as news media, social media and government announcements, shaped and positioned individuals and social groups in ways that they could choose to endorse or resist (Hughes, 2019). For all interviewees, there was a personal rejection of the narrative that Brexit was the 'will of the people' because it dismissed nearly half of those who had voted in the referendum; those people, like themselves, who had voted to remain a member of the EU. It was this resistance that led to their engagement with large-scale protests as an opportunity to make their voice heard (see Chapter 4). Sustained or increased involvement in collective action, such as anti-Brexit online interactions or local campaigns, could be attributed to a stronger affiliation with the group as a result of a shared Remainer identity, and the regular activation of associated group-based emotions, being regularly activated (Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008; Mackie & Smith, 2017; Meredith & Richardson, 2019).

Throughout the interviews most participants who were not involved with local groups equally described their role as the opposition "fighting together" (Karen) who needed to "continue the battle… thinking of it still as a resistance" (Leslie). The construction of Brexit as an ongoing conflict that required active "resistance" from the civilian population, not simply a policy for the political elite to debate and enact, was not restricted to involvement in local support groups. Nor was the depth of anti-Brexit feeling only experienced by, or encouraged within, grassroots collectives. This still

left room for Remainer-identity activation, through the media and social media, but the associated emotions, while similar, are individual. This means the emotions and related affective practices are potentially idiosyncratic responses and therefore less likely to represent aligned group emotion norms (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a). For the majority of interviewees, pro-group 'I-mode' or weak 'we-mode' is indicated where there were shared concerns regarding Brexit but engagement with the wider group remains as a matter of choice; that is, where they chose to attend national marches but not local campaign groups (Gould, 2009).

The strengthening of collective emotions, rather than strength of group membership, has been proposed as an important factor in the transformation of 'I-mode' to 'we-mode' (Salmela, 2014a). At local levels, the strengthened emotional attachment to the group was achieved through the bolstering of affective ties, collective intentions and commitments that happens as a result of regular, managed, emotion-laden contact common to grassroots organisations (Busher, 2016; Pilkington, 2016). For the majority of interviewees, who were disconnected from local engagement, exploration of how they felt about attending other anti-Brexit marches provided some insight into how the strengthening of 'we-mode' happened;

> Very excited because the one in March [the PPM] was just amazing, you know, it just felt like there was real momentum. And we didn't leave [the EU], you know, when we were supposed to leave in March, and it was just, it felt like a change had happened as a result of it. It was just brilliant. (Kate)

Demonstrated is collective effervescence that creates emotional energy at public assemblies and the requirement of reinvigoration through ongoing contact through collective sharing or repeated events (Collins, 2004; 2012; Durkheim, 1912;

Knottnerus, 2010; 2014). A desire and anticipation of re-experiencing these positive emotions was echoed by Evie who said she “felt really excited and really pleased that I was going to be going. Really buoyed up. … I just want to have my beliefs affirmed. I want to be amongst my people [laughs]”. Similarly, Ryan explained how the PPM “reinforced my values and commitment actually. That was quite important in terms of commitment of going along again”. Feelings of togetherness with other Remainers and collective commitment to challenge Brexit had been strengthened. Affective solidarity experienced is generated through the move from ‘I-mode’ to ‘we-mode’ that is facilitated by intensified collective emotions through co-presence at previous demonstrations (Salmela, 2014a) but the association is with attendance at the large-scale protests rather than regular, active campaigning at more local levels.

Through the analysis of interviewee accounts it was found that the continued involvement in collective action was the result of feelings of solidarity and resistance. While top-down narratives may position anti-Brexit sentiment as divisive these were rejected at individual and collective levels; either in locally-organised Remainer groups, on a regular basis, or at more sporadic, large-scale, physical SJEs. These were spaces where the sharing of personal emotion, values and beliefs allowed for the (re)activation of a shared identity and the articulation of collective goals for the group that could (re)vitalise commitment to group and further collective action. There were different levels of involvement, and various pathways, that people followed in their campaigning against Brexit, however, group emotion was central to them coming together as a collective, maintaining their commitment to group aims and partaking in collective action. The sense that interviewees made of their experience was contingent on the similarity and sharing of emotion (Páez, Basabe, Ubillos, & González-Castro, 2007; Rimé, 2009) rather than their affiliation to a specific identity.

Bonding, Boundary-setting and Offensive Humour

Once the participants were at the protest they described taking on roles of both audience and performer *as a group*; the duality of these roles has been conceptualised as a "diffused audience" (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). At the more immediate, co-present level this dual role is evident in accounts that construct them as the object of scrutiny (i.e. a performer) and witnesses to the performance of others (i.e. an audience) (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). Many interviewees recounted that "there was just as much dancing and singing. Just as much of a carnival atmosphere as there has been before" (Yvette) and that there "was a fair amount of exuberance, all the banners and everything of course, and the very fact of being on the march" (Leslie). As discussed in Chapter 4, these salient elements and activities reinforced feelings of togetherness and foregrounded hope and positivity. At the previous march the embodied and performative affective practices that achieved this were chanting and singing, costumes and street theatre, placards and banners and, most notably, the Mexican soundwave (see Chapter 4). One novel activity that does not feature in the case studies, because it was only mentioned by three interviewees, was the collaborative effort of unfurling giant banners created by activist group 'Led by Donkeys'. As can be seen in Fig 6.2 the banner held above the heads of the crowd in Parliament Square, at the FSM, proclaimed "Get ready for a People's Vote" (Forsdike, 2019). This image does convey how busy the protest was at this location, a couple of hours after the event had started, but it does not show the amount of people still walking the march route which continued along Whitehall, the road leading off the top centre of the image, and back to Hyde Park.

Figure 6.2 *Aerial View Photograph of Parliament Square*

The campaigning group Led by Donkeys unfurls a huge banner in Parliament Square (Forsdike, 2019), Photograph: Wil Rose/Led By Donkeys

Accounts in this case study suggest that these protest features have become sedimented, or habitual, affective practices within the context of anti-Brexit protests, informed by socially historical events such as carnivals because of their positive connotations. Localised, social interactions between people that shared, communicated and generated emotion; bringing protestors together in their similarity and overcoming differences (McNeill, 1995; 't Hart, 2007; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016). From Hyde Park to the rally in Parliament Square, the features and social practices that were recounted as being salient echoed those from previous marches:

> When you are walking along there will be guys with megaphones and they shout Bollocks to Brexit and you shout it back. There is different people chanting. There is quite a lot of, I don't know what

> you call them, verbal Mexican waves? You just hear a cheer coming. (Evie)

There were various opportunities within the march to participate in joint, co-ordinated actions with others simply by engaging in chanting or the “verbal Mexican waves”. Although chanting was not taken up by everyone in the march it was mentioned by nearly half of the interviewees. As Evie highlights, a particularly salient chant was “Bollocks to Brexit” which was a slogan that used purposefully provocative language to evoke amusement, anger and shock in protesters and their ‘imagined audience’. In a similar way to imagined communities (see Chapter 5), there is a presumed recipient of their collective action efforts that they do not personally know and are not physically present. This social collective exists as a socially constructed entity in the collective imaginary of those engaged in collective action and are a mass audience, the general public, who are recipients of a mediated performance provided by mass media institutions (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Anderson, 1991; Blee & McDowell, 2012). The awareness of this imagined audience is apparent in the affective practices used to engage them; visual and bold actions, such as the giant banner mentioned, that capture attention or provokes, first, the national media and, second, the watching public. Simply, it needs to be news-worthy to be broadcast to the general public.

As explained by Dewaele (2015), in the UK, the word “bollocks” is obscene, offensive and multifunctional because it means “literally “testicles” but also “nonsense”; “rubbish” and can be used as an exclamation of annoyance or disbelief” (p. 316). In general, swearing is powerful because it expresses strong emotion or feeling, particularly anger or pain, (Stone, McMillan, & Hazelton, 2015) which intensifies the sentiment being made (Vingerhoets, Bylsma, & de Vlam, 2013); when

this is being done by a rabble comprised of hundreds of thousands of people one can only presume this is amplified even more so. In the UK, public use of offensive language is considered to be behaviour that is anti-social and, while rarely enforced, it is punishable by law (Burke, 2019; UK Government, 1986). Similarly, court cases worldwide have been fought over the use of abusive language toward public officials as it displays disrespect for authority (Methven, 2018). Finally, taboo language denotes a lower, less educated, social class unconcerned with maintaining social status (Baruch & Jenkins, 2007; Vingerhoets, Bylsma, & de Vlam, 2013). With these social, and legal, restrictions around public cursing it is understandable that some interviewees said that they thought it was “a little bit too aggressive” (Christian) and this could explain why the Mexican soundwave was more successful as a practice of protest (see Chapter 4).

However, the slogan was used throughout the People’s Vote marches on stickers, t-shirts and banners with there being perceptibly “more people shouting Bollocks to Brexit than there was a year ago. I think people were a bit nervous about shouting that [then]” (Evie). This suggests that slightly uncivil behaviour became acceptable group practice as it challenged societal norms (Baruch & Jenkins, 2007). Moreover, the narrative of Remainers as the “metropolitan liberal elite” ("Brexit Blues", 2019; Cartledge, 2019; Harker, 2019) was disrupted through nonconscious use of behaviour ascribed to lower classes. While such strategy was never described in this way it was clear that this kind of behaviour was an uncommon occurrence, in everyday life, and could explain being “a bit nervous about shouting that” and concerns it was an overly confrontational message. There was also a tension between this being a legally sanctioned, peaceful demonstration and the aggressive, potentially unlawful, delivery of the message. Despite the negative associations,

public swearing has been found to be a social practice of rebellion that provokes shock but acts as a marker of group identity (Stone, McMillan, & Hazelton, 2015) and promotes group solidarity (Baruch & Jenkins, 2007).

Bakhtain proposed “grotesque realism” and laughter as practices of mockery that were necessary elements of carnival as a space to oppose official truth and subvert reality (Renfrew, 2015). Using uncouth language and juxtaposing a colloquial word for male genitalia with government policy to disparage the referendum result generates laughter through the opportunity to be collectively insubordinate, absurd and controversial. This was clearly the aim of the effigies such as the giant-sized model which depicted Dominic Cummings as Boris Johnson’s puppet master (McLean, 2019). As mentioned by Christian “it is always good to laugh at things especially when it is so outrageous”. The use of humorous street theatre and messaging within the march was highlighted by all participants because it was “just fabulous to see people’s posters because they are so witty, so amazing [laughs]” (Yvette) and a consistent practice across anti-Brexit marches of “humour and cleverness” (Ruth). Understanding intellectual humour has been found to demonstrate the ability to think on multiple levels (Berger, 1997) and, for those who use and comprehend it, “it makes them feel smart, special and capable” (Sørensen, 2016, p. 86). Humour and ridicule have also been proposed to perform a disciplinary role in social life by discouraging some practices because they will be derided, laughed at and evoke shame (Billig, 2005). These aspects of discipline through shame are implied in the emphasis that participants place on intellect. Those who can appreciate the humour, the in-group, must be of higher intelligence and can feel pride in this. The opposite is therefore true of those who are unable to find these messages amusing.

This is not to suggest that humour was a purely socially negative practice. Sørensen (2016) found that humour had an important role in boosting morale of social movement members which is essential in “building and sustaining cultures of resistance” (p. 96). Specifically, the laughter that is generated “is a clear example of the rhythmically attunement of a successful high-energy interaction, and hence, the generation of laughter, typically through humor, becomes one of the central signs of closeness and social understanding” (Kuiper, 2008, p. 390). Ultimately, the ability to laugh together promoted group cohesion and served to delineate who is other and part of the out-group (Berger, 1997; Kuiper, 2008; Sørensen, 2016).

As social practices, swearing, laughter and other collaborative emotional expressions became collective acts that promoted feelings of solidarity within the group (McNeill, 1995; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016). This was described more explicitly as “camaraderie” by Karen and Yvette; the sense of kinship and togetherness. As embodied and discursive phenomena their use by others, and oneself, is affectively and physically felt. Mockery of authority and ‘the truth’ combined with the rebellious act of swearing elicit laughter, bolster confidence and allay fear (Sørensen, 2008; Tunalı, 2020). Although the ‘Bollocks to Brexit’ slogan was not one endorsed by everyone, Ian stated that he did not “particularly like it as a slogan” but immediately went on to say “but then, when the chanting happens, then there is that sort of unity that happens”. For other interviewees, publically shouting and swearing were not behaviours they would usually engage in, nevertheless, they did not admonish those around them and even abandoned personal misgivings and joined in.

Simultaneously, these practices provoke shock and anger in those who disagree with the message or the manner in which it is presented because mockery

and “swear words can function to challenge existing power structures and those in powerful positions” (Methven, 2018, p. 69); humour, laughter and swearing could all be perceived in ways that made them offensive or disrespectful (Methven, 2018; Sørensen, 2008; 2016; Tunalı, 2020). By default this defines the out-group and repels them. The humour and street theatre is shared with co-present others and the majority of the banners and costumes would only be seen by others at the march. Therefore, even though an intended imaginary audience of the march was the general public, in reality and on a more functional level, it was each other. Performing for one another was just as important as capturing the attention of the wider population because “protest and rallies, like plays performed on a stage, seek to influence audiences cognitively and emotionally” (Blee & McDowell, 2012, p. 2) and, by their very nature, “are strategic as well as evocative” (p. 3). They were influencing and supporting each other which was an essential strategy in the maintenance of cohesive social mobilisation. FSM attendees were their *own* simple audience; they were co-present and performing for each other using humour to elicit feelings of joy and togetherness through sharing values, laughing with each other and establishing the boundaries of group membership (Sørensen, 2008).

Navigating Affect about the Letwin Amendment

The live, parliamentary vote for the Letwin Amendment was a novel element of the FSM that afforded a variety of individual and group-based emotions even before it had happened. The unique influence this had on emotional behaviour and interactions at the march and how interviewees made sense of the protest and associated emotions is outlined below. It provides a further insight into the role of spatial arrangement of human and non-human factors in group and collective emotion. In addition, analysing this feature of the march provided an understanding

of how group and collective emotion changed over a short period of time and was influenced by a mutual awareness of other people sharing in that affective experience.

Undercurrents of Collective Tension

The live vote in Parliament was identified as a purpose for attending because "the most important priority that day was hearing the crowd around me when the vote went through. For good or for bad" (Kate). It was not recounted in terms of history repeating itself but there are similarities with the EU referendum, on a smaller scale, that would have been difficult to ignore. This was a live vote that had ramifications for the whole country, it was associated with EU membership and they were a captive audience fearing this would not go in their favour[5]. As Kate alludes to and Karen remembered thinking about explicitly there was no guarantee that the live vote outcome would be favourable to the goals of the FSM:

> I was worrying about it, as the vote was coming in that, if it didn't pass, that the mood of the square was going to be Uhhh [deflated moan] and it would turn into some kind of wake… I was worried that the mood of the people would be so flat and negative and people would just sidle off. That would be a shame. (Karen)

The Letwin Amendment was a source of hope and anxiety prior to the FSM because the outcome could have a negative impact on the aspirations of the whole group. Although Karen talks about her personal worry it is with regard to the potential "mood of the people" and the negative effect this could have on others; this is suggestive of

[5] The suggestion here is not that this was **same** as the EU referendum; this was a parliamentary vote that did not involve the general public casting their individual votes. It was, however, a publically broadcast event or spectacle.

pro-group I-mode (Tuomela, 2007) in advance of the protest. She expected that there would be a lot of positive feeling as a result of being together, as remembered from a previous anti-Brexit protest, but she recalled fearing that this togetherness could be disrupted; in short, she perceived a fragility in the expected positive shared group emotion.

Protestor behaviour can communicate a message to observers and being aware of this role affords them the ability to communicate multiple narratives that can challenge predominant accounts in the media. Karen speaks of a fear that the message sent could be one of defeat where “people would just sidle off”. It was considered a “shame” because it would be contrary to the positive atmosphere at previous marches and would reify the narrative that Remain supporters were “sore losers” (Anderson, 2019). Awareness that the protest would be an object of attention nationally and internationally acknowledges a performer-audience relationship, where multiple audiences are constructed in advance of the protest and these are not mutually exclusive. As “audiences are groups of people before whom a performance of one kind or another takes place” (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998, p. 40) the interviewees considered themselves a part of a performance. Alternatively, there may be a change “for good or for bad” (Kate) but there was still a desire to share this with others (Rimé, 2009) who experience it in a similar way; this form of assembly has been found to be beneficial in the restoration of a positive emotional climate after collective trauma (Páez, Basabe, Ubillos, & González-Castro, 2007). Either imagined outcome supports the dynamism of collective or shared group emotion, as well as, the transformative effect it can have on social collectives (von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). As a shared affective encounter it can influence the

behaviour of the whole group and, potentially, consolidate or disrupt the sense of togetherness formed (Mühlhoff, 2019; Sullivan, 2018; Thonhauser, 2020).

When recounting their feelings on the day, half the participants described how "the mood was much more sombre. It was more reflective [than the PPM]" (Kate) and "the broad atmosphere felt a little flat" (Beth) rather than a replication of the carnival feel they remembered at previous marches (see Chapter 4). Some interviewees indicated that Hyde Park was quieter than expected, heightening fears of diminishing support in the anti-Brexit cause. This was, however, more likely the result of attendees being distributed across the march route before it began instead of being clustered at Hyde Park. Others noted that the same carnival elements from previous marches were present but that "it didn't feel like a carnival but [I] was unsure why" (Wayne) and, contrary to other interviewee recollections, suggested that it could have been due to "less chanting of slogans" (Colin) or that other People's Vote "marches had been more singy, shouty, lively" (Ruth). The sentiment was recounted by other interviewees as the result of a different anxiety:

> it was very poignant that Parliament were sitting on Saturday to vote on the deal, it felt even more heightened tensions and I think everybody was really quite depressed because we felt that Parliament was going to vote for this deal and we would be sold down the river and that would be it. (Yvette)

In this account the event, "it", was perceived to be comprised of "heightened tensions". There is an indication of shared group emotion and perspective or conviction, rather than a defined social identity, in the reference to how the collective "we" felt and what they believed would happen. This is possibly indicative of specific discussions with other group members and Yvette's confidence in holding a position

where she could be a spokesperson for her local campaign group. The tension and associated fears described here could be conceptualised as collective angst, a group-based emotion, or a "concern for the future of the group" (Wohl & Branscombe, 2009, p. 194; Wohl, Squires, & Caouette, 2012). At the FSM, the live vote was perceived as an imminent threat to their goals as a social movement. Importantly, this is not just about fear of dissolution of the group but also their lives and status as Europeans as discussed in Chapter 4.

A concurrent emotion, a facet not mentioned in the literature on collective angst, was the flat atmosphere depicted by multiple interviewees and explained by Yvette as "everybody was really quite depressed". Across interviewees such recollections were attributed to the belief that a negative outcome was inevitable and beyond reproach. Shared group emotion was described as "we did all feel that it was a bit more sombre than usual and probably just because we knew what was going on … People obviously were a bit more twitchy" (Louise) and "a gnawing anxiety through the day … a sense of jeopardy" (Ian). As a discursive affective practice sharing concerns about the potential outcome creates a group that are sharing and bound together in their mutual sombreness and positions the speaker within this collective affect. This could suggest normative emotional alignment (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a) where individuals experience a depressed affect because they are a group member. Accounts of concurrent and interrelated emotions at the march highlight that studying emotions defined by prescribed labels or as isolated phenomena fails to capture the complexity of affective experience (Ross, 2014; Sullivan, 2014a; 2015; Wetherell, 2012).

There is a dichotomy reflected here between the angst about the unknown live vote result and a flatness of affect related to the inability, or agency, to

circumvent an inevitable loss. Furthermore, there is a tension between the positive feelings associated with being with like-minded others, a desire to re-experience togetherness and the sense of finality and a sense that the mood of the group was dependent on the impending outcome. As a collective emotional response it should not be understood as specific to the live vote and disconnected from what had gone before. It has evolved over time as the socio-political situation changed; this can be understood from Karen, who was interviewed *before* the PPM and *after* the FSM (as she was unable to attend the PPM). When interviewed before the first case study she described herself, since the referendum, as being “more anxious, about that, as an underlying thing”. When interviewed eight months later she stated “that there is this underlying worry that invades everything”. The manifestation of collective emotion was informed, but not solely shaped, by a shared identity (Sullivan, 2018; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019) and involved shared collective knowledge that enables similar situational affective assessments to be made simultaneously by large numbers of people (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Thonhauser, 2018).

Responding to the Unexpected

At the time of the live vote, for the Letwin Amendment, the march was already well underway with people at various points along the route and a third of interviewees having reached Parliament Square. The rally at this location had begun around 2:30pm with celebrity Patrick Stewart as the first speaker. From the video footage it can be seen that there is some interaction between the crowd and those on stage; a few lacklustre boos and cheers. Less than 10 minutes into the rally, the broadcasting of the live vote was announced by a host posing the question “Would you trust this government?” to which there was a collective shout of “NO!”. The crowd was then instructed to “Make some noise!” to let the voting MPs know this;

which is stage talk borrowed from popular music artists, such as in hip-hop, that functions to engage and orient the audience (Salois, 2014). It had the desired effect. Their collective responses evident in the preceding video footage were behaviours which had consisted of waving flags and clapping their hands no higher than chest height in a manner which was only slightly more vigorous than theatre-style applause. Comparatively, this was the loudest and most physically animated the crowd had been; cheering, shouting and whistling. This instance was sustained for 45 seconds, giving way to chanting of “People’s Vote” for 9 seconds and then the video screens, here and along the march route, began displaying the BBC broadcast building up to the live vote.

At this location, the collective role of the crowd as a performer became that of an observing audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). With this, there was a shift in power that could influence affect on individual and collective levels. Such a transformation could be the result of spatial organisation; a stage and screens at one end creates a recognisable focal point that the mass can rally around and their affective response will be formulated in response to this (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2019a; Slaby & von Scheve, 2019). Instead of their collective action being the source of cognitive and affective influence on the various audiences constructed by interviewees (Blee & McDowell, 2012) they became the viewing public albeit one in physical proximity of the object of attention rather than part of the more abstract and distal imagined audience. This was reflected in the observable body displays adopted as people retained a forward-facing stance, oriented towards the screens, but resumed conversations amongst themselves rather than attending explicitly to what was happening at the front of Parliament Square. As a collective their attention may be on the live vote but they were still being filmed by the national

media and broadcast to the imagined, mass audience of the general public. This means that there is still a navigation of the dual roles of audience and performer as a "diffused audience" (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998).

For the next eight minutes the BBC commentators acted as background noise for the shuffling and anticipatory crowd who seemed increasingly concerned with the worsening weather, as umbrellas and waterproof jackets materialised, as much as the upcoming vote. For those people who were in Parliament Square this preamble to the vote was described as a "shared experience" because "everyone was talking to each other going what is this? Is this the vote? Is this the amendment? Is this the Letwin amendment?" (Wayne). His account was not relayed as being filled with dread and anxiety, as might be expected based on preceding recollections, but a situation he described as exciting. There was anticipation and suspense. It is more suggestive of shared curiosity about the novel aspect of this being a feature of the march, rather than shared fear of what the outcome might be. Such anticipation was not evident in the video footage of Parliament Square however when the BBC broadcast cuts to the Speaker of the House of Commons, John Bercow, demanding "Order!" from the MPs it can be seen that his words act to focus the people gathered in Parliament Square. Silence descended and people expectantly faced the screen while shielding themselves from the pouring rain under umbrellas and placards.

Unexpectedly, for all interviewees, the vote went in their favour and did not turn into the "wake" that Karen feared. As the 322 'ayes' were announced there was an initial round of applause and a two-second cheer that quietened as the 206 'nays' were declared during which "it erupted [laughs] … the crowd, as a whole, was jubilant" (Isobel). She encapsulates the noise level increase and more sustained, exuberant cheer that involved people clapping, raising arms, whistling and shouting:

> Everybody was just hysterical. Just screaming and jumping up and down for joy. Hugging each other. I was crying and loads of women around [laughing] me were crying! ... it just felt like such a big sigh of relief. Yeah, it was amazing. (Kate)

As an audience the response was not the stereotypical theatre-style response of restrained applause (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; McQuail, 1997). The behaviour was energetic and emphatic (see Fig 6.2). Flags and placards were raised high in the air and waved enthusiastically. Sounds of whistling, shouting and cheering; combining in a triumphant roar from the crowd that lasted for 44 seconds. This gave way to chants of “People’s Vote!” whilst raised fists, arms, flags and placards were waved in time to the chant. After 26 seconds this calmed and the hosts returned to the stage to continue the line-up of speakers.

In Fig 6.2, sections highlighted by white outlines show the way that some of the attendees in Parliament Square physically expressed their euphoria and delight. On the left of the image we have a person in a yellow jacket waving their placard gleefully above their head and, next to them, a man with his fist raised triumphantly above his head for 22 seconds, although, it did not appear to be accompanied by any shouting. In the centre of the image we again have people with placards above their heads, some of which was to protect themselves from the rain, and others clapping with their hands raised above chest height. Further, we have the man in blue with his arms raised in an almost rapturous pose that he holds for 29 seconds while yelling a continuous, ecstatic ‘YES!’. While this is a still image, and unable to recreate or convey the immersed or dynamic experience of watching the recorded footage (either using a VR headset or video player) it does capture some of the varied and embodied emotions in response to the result of the live vote.

Figure 6.3 *Still Image of Response to the Live Vote*

This is a flattened, two-dimensional video still of the 360-degree footage where the central part of the image corresponds with the viewpoint of the camera operator facing forward. The outer left and right quarters of the image correspond with the footage captured behind the camera operator.

Language used by interviewees conveys the physical expression of relief and release although the intensity of this collective reaction surpasses the tamer “giddy release” of being with like-minded others (Hochschild, 2016). The behaviour immediately prior to and after the vote was ascribed to ‘everyone’ by multiple interviewees; by which they are referring to everyone that was immediately around them and that they can see beyond that. In that moment, collective angst and tension were transformed as attendees physically expressed a collective euphoria and relief. This was not the steady building of emotional energy or collective effervescence. Kate describes a mix of emotions which is missed in much collective emotion research that reports aggregate emotion scores of group-based and collective emotion (Sullivan, 2015; van Leeuwen, van Stekelenburg, & Klandermans, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). From the video footage there is a visible difference in behaviour. Even without the benefit, or distraction, of sound (i.e. when viewing the footage with the volume off) the embodied response described is evident and matches that recalled by interviewees.

Something not mentioned by interviewees, but visible in the video recordings, is that there were people laughing and smiling as they enacted their joy in bodily performances. This could be because this was less obvious as most people were facing forward, oriented toward the screen in front of the group. They were, however, able to discern the euphoria without a reliance on facial expression because it was “like at football when they are winning. It was ecstatic… just people leaping around, celebrating” (Ryan). It is an analogy that the media reports also drew on saying “it was not dissimilar, one imagines, to how a world cup winning England goal might be greeted” (Drury, 2019) and the physical behaviour evident in the video footage was, as Ryan says, reminiscent of a victorious sports event. Some people stood with their

faces turned toward the sky, arms raised up high as they exclaimed their feeling of victory. Many others clapping with their hands raised high above their heads rather than at chest height as described earlier. Embodiment of emotion at this point circumvented the need to be able to discern what individual facial features could offer. Consistent with social appraisal theory (Manstead & Fischer, 2001) in the formation of collective emotion; co-presence allows evaluation of others to gauge the appropriate emotional response which leads to the convergence of emotion (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; van Leeuwen, van Stekelenburg, & Klandermans, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

The Mediating Influences of Co-presence and Shared Attention

The shared knowledge of members of the protest march forms a context which is important for making sense of the emotions they experienced and the perception of emotion in co-present others (Manstead & Fischer, 2001; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001). In this setting, Kate describes the response as a “big sigh of relief” which was echoed by other interviewees. Clearly this did not mimic individually embodied relief; the crowd did not all exhale in tandem and exhibit a bodily slump as the tension left them. Instead there was a mixture of expressive behaviours that could be associated with releasing tension such as crying, shouting, smiling and cheering. Alongside relief, Kate recounts witnessing behaviours that embodied positive emotion which were consistent with all accounts of the reaction to the vote in Parliament Square. People hugging, “jumping up and down for joy” and “leaping around” (Ryan); the intensity of these responses gradually reduced across the gathered group allowing the sense of relief to be acknowledged and articulated as a legitimate group description.

This celebration, almost rapture, and subsequent relief and happiness was not limited to this location; other interviewees recounted a similar situation throughout the march where “everyone was just ecstatic. Cheering. Shouting. Waving their flags. Completely forgetting about the rain” (Evie). The placement of video screens along the march route meant more people were able to observe the vote as it happened rather than just those people who been successful in accessing Parliament Square. Even for attendees who were not in the vicinity of a screen they were still able to access social media on their phones to follow the events. This resulted in a slightly delayed and less simultaneous response because there was a reliance on individuals reporting what was happening but as they did “the cheer rippled down the march, it started at different points. Somebody had obviously managed to get signal to get the news” (Flora). Exhilaration and positive feeling have been identified as facets of empowerment, the outcome of feeling empowered, and collective self-objectification (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005) which is evident at the FSM; where this analysis goes further is in the consideration of how emotions as a collective are embodied, social and irreducible to individual cognition (Sullivan, 2018; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019).

Amplification of positive emotions in public, as opposed to when by oneself, has been found as the result of social appraisal in laboratory research (Manstead & Fischer, 2001) and theorised to interact with emotional contagion in the convergence of group emotion required for collective emotion (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; Goldenberg, Garcia, Halperin, & Gross, 2020; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Qualitative ethnographic research concerned with collective emotion in sports conducted by Sullivan (2018) found affective amplification associated with co-presence but highlighted that individual cognition (i.e. appraisal and evaluation of

others' emotion) and an increase in collective empowerment was insufficient to explain it. Instead, the achievement of a collective aim was concluded to be sufficient to overcome social barriers, usually observed between strangers, and resulted in joyous, physical, celebratory interactions which "created a mutual amplified collective emotion (i.e., a full we-mode celebration)" (Sullivan, 2018, p. 12). In other research, this type of physical, emotional sharing was surmised to be "the collective experience of a gathering of individuals who share the import of a situation and interactively react to it" (Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019, p. 233). Emotional experience was not restricted to a set of group normative behaviours, which would include emotions, established in advance of the event and within an assumed social identity (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a). Rather it was the embodiment of affect and the affective practices that were identified as salient factors which can be understood as "felt evaluations constituted by intra- and inter-bodily resonance" and this focus can, in turn, better explain "the bodily and the cognitive dynamics involved in episodes of social or collective affectivity" (Thonhauser, 2020, p. 222).

Additionally, prior expectations have been shown to influence the intensity of emotional expression; individuals expecting and achieving success have been found to be less visibly elated than those achievers with lower expectations and surprising results led to heightened emotional responses (McGraw, Mellers, & Tetlock, 2005). This could explain why the reaction to the vote was experienced as having "erupted" (Isobel), being "just hysterical" (Kate), "ecstatic" (Evie) and "euphoric" (Ryan) because this was contrary to the expectations held in the lead up to the march and the live vote. Emotional intensity could be just as equally influenced by the restricted emotional habitus evident in the months before the FSM and the feeling of tension described on the day. As explored earlier, and in Chapter 4, Remainers felt that they

needed to be heard as their viewpoint had been disparaged and dismissed but also the options available to challenge Brexit had rapidly reduced. Participants had described emotions such as depression, anxiety, and hopelessness, as comprising their individual and collective emotional habitus, preceding the FSM, which are emotions which have been found to narrow the attentional focus of individuals (Fredrickson, 1998). In the lead up to the protest and the live vote, the political opportunities available to Remainers would have been reduced (Gould, 2009). With this in mind, the result of the vote offered a reprieve from such compounded affect, over time, leading to intense feelings of relief and release (Hochschild, 2016; Stürmer & Simon, 2009) which interviewees described as an eruption and (positive) hysteria.

A third of the interviewees offered an alternative experience of the Letwin vote. Yvette simply described the result as a "huge sense of relief" while Louise recounted a feeling of disconnection:

> We just heard people cheering and there was a ripple so, because people were cheering, you'd cheer and you haven't got a clue what you're cheering about. …we did hear that it had been passed, so that was good, but there wasn't that massive Wooo! there was just like Yay. I think we had missed that moment really. (Louise)

Louise's speech intonation provides insight into her experience as the "wooo!" is said quite quickly with a higher pitch, suggesting excitement, and the "yay" is much more drawn out, slower and of a pitch in keeping with her normal speaking voice. On the day, neither Yvette or Louise were at a location that they could focus on the live vote because they were not near a screen to see it and did not become a captive audience to it. This led to them feeling detached from the event despite being co-

present and therefore also being able to appraise others' reactions. It could be suggested that disconnection was evidence of a shift in shared identity (Neville & Reicher, 2011) preventing them feeling the convergence of group emotion or enacting presumed emotional group norms. However, Louise did not make sense of it in such a way and Yvette, who arguably had a strong affiliation with the Remainer identity as a result of being heavily involved in her local anti-Brexit group, reported a similar disengagement. This highlights the salience of shared focus of attention in collective and group emotion (Collins, 2004; Knottnerus, 2014; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) as it provides the necessary context for the understanding of the affective practices of others and the funnelling of emotion into intense forms on this occasion (Sullivan, 2018; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019). Flora's account provides support for this analysis because she and her group were located in the main body of the march without video screen access. In contrast, they did experience the collective euphoria because they were able to share the focus of attention, on the live vote, with co-present others using social media.

The final subset of interviewee accounts to consider are those who had left the FSM by the time the vote happened or did not recall being aware of the vote result until after the march. Accounts from these five people retained the positive sentiments but had a muted quality in comparison to the others who experienced the live vote with co-present others at the march. Some described hearing about it on the train home which was "anti-climactic" (Colin) or that they "found out that the Letwin bill had been passed. So that was nice to hear" (Brad). Others demonstrated a distinct shift towards 'I-mode' as personal concerns were prioritised (Salmela, 2014a; Tuomela, 2013); some left the march because they did not feel compelled to stay around for the rally and were further deterred by the rain and inability to access

an already overcrowded Parliament Square. They were still following the progress of the vote online but “it wasn’t a kind of sense of euphoria or achievement. Just kind of we live to fight another day really. More relief than anything else” (Beth). These interviewees expressed similar sentiments to those who experienced the vote first-hand, however, their accounts in the interview lacked the intensity that was demonstrated in the emotional behaviours described and observed, were not recounted as embodied affect and the descriptive language was much more reserved. As each of these participants were separated, temporally and physically, from the march this supports the importance of co-presence, co-ordinated behaviour, shared mood and attention in group emotion to generate collective effervescence, emotional energy and synchronous emotional convergence (Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). They either became part of the mass, rather than simple, audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) or rather are simply recipients of knowledge, about the result, from a third party. In both cases their emotional experience became more distal and divorced from that of those present at the march or in Parliament Square.

Emotion contagion accounts of crowd affect, from social psychology, would explain the detachment in these accounts as the result of others not being co-present which means mirror neurons would not be activated (Lamm & Silani, 2014), there were no other emotional in-group members to initiate mimicry (Hatfield, Carpenter, & Rapson, 2014; Hess, Houde, & Fischer, 2014) or there was a lack of pheromones required for chemical entrainment (Brennan, 2004). Social appraisal accounts (Bruder, Fischer, & Manstead, 2014; van Leeuwen, van Stekelenburg, & Klandermans, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) would point to the surrounding others being appraised as not reacting and therefore this would inhibit this type of

emotional expression. These theories are not to be dismissed as playing a role in group emotion, but they cannot explain why those people who were at the FSM, away from the drama of Parliament Square but still in close physical proximity of other in-group members, provided subdued accounts of their emotional response (Seyfert, 2012; Sullivan, 2018; Wetherell, 2012).

The contrasting accounts in this case study demonstrate how the same features of the protest, the live vote, were responded to in a variety of ways and that physical co-presence with others led to a more positive, embodied, intense collective reaction. Similar findings in research on sport and collective emotion are supported (Sullivan, 2018; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019) alongside the shift between 'I-mode' and 'we-mode' and how this is facilitated by stronger collective emotion (Salmela, 2014a). For those immersed in the protest space this was seen in the elated responses to the achievement of a collective goal and the expression of that 'we' feeling in affective practices that communicated, and were perceived as, collective joy or euphoria (rather than, for example, collective pride; cf. Sullivan, 2014b). With those receiving the news at a distance from the physical march it might be concluded that the shift was the opposite way, from 'we-mode' to 'I-mode', as the feeling of being part of a collective was diminished by the absence of co-presence and shared focus of attention and there was no opportunity to participate in the collective emotion. This tentative conclusion is made because there were not many interviewees who had left the march and, while most alluded to individual emotional responses to the news, there was still a sense of togetherness for Beth when she stated "we live to fight another day"; suggesting that there is at least a sense of 'weak we-mode' (Salmela, 2014a; Tuomela, 2013).

A sense of ‘we-mode’ would be expected to be part of Yvette’s narrative because, as mentioned earlier, she was chairperson of her local People’s Vote group and a heavily-involved, staunch, anti-Brexit campaigner. Moreover, she was part of the march at the time of the live vote therefore it could be expected that she would be overjoyed but instead she described a feeling of “relief”. A more appropriate conclusion, consistent with these findings, would be that each of these theories alongside affective practices plays a part in the manifestation of collective emotion. They are contingent on each other and, for affective practices employed to be successful, there needs to be co-presence. Co-ordinated and complementary affective behaviour can only be an effective collective response where there is a shared focus of attention with others. A combination of features suggests a type of affective resonance because “instead of just processes of affecting and being affected… these processes are essentially an unfolding of relational forces and not just sequences of transitional states” (Mühlhoff, 2019, p. 193). Subsequently, this facilitates the convergence of synchronous, collective emotion that strengthens ‘we-mode’ (Salmela, 2014a). Therefore, shared group membership is not a requirement for shared group emotion to manifest. Ultimately, it can be a precursor to this and strengthened by the shared experience or it can be the result of having this shared, embodied emotional experience together (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a; Thonhauser & Wetzels, 2019).

Summary

The focus of this case study has been specific points in the FSM timeline and peak emotional features and events during the march. Interviewee accounts supported rather than extended themes previously discussed (see Chapter 4), which

was partly a result of the similarities between the anti-Brexit marches, but a crucial difference, in this case, was the experience of the positive outcome of the Letwin vote. Despite the focus, one should not be under the impression that the march to Parliament Square was less dynamic and affect-laden or that the concluding rally began and ended with the euphoric Letwin vote. Interviewees recounted how interactive relations with others in these spaces were comprised of feelings of positivity and solidarity and reminiscent of their previous experiences of anti-Brexit marches. Salient features of this SJE were the ways in which emotion transformed over time and the influence of togetherness at the event. There was found to be a strong association with the arrangement of human and non-human elements at the event specifically in response to the Letwin vote. Links were made with the consistent background anxiety created by Brexit becoming manifest in the form of a live vote that was a source of collective angst. Inextricably tied to this same vote was the collective euphoria recounted, and observed, which had an instantaneous impact on group emotion and behaviour. The change in collective emotion was undeniable when the result was announced. For those in close physical proximity to others similarly captivated by the unfolding vote the euphoric and jubilant response were loud, animated and embodied. Account comparisons, between those who were co-present and those who were more distant, indicated that shared focus of attention and the embodiment of affect were driving factors in the manifestation of collective emotion. This finding will be further explored in the following discussion chapter where all three case studies will be considered in terms of the theoretical framework and the extant literature on collective emotion.

Chapter 7 : Discussion of the Case Studies

Chapter 2 proposed that one way to investigate collective emotion was through the integration of different analytical approaches and the conceptualisation of a dynamic foreground-background framework. In brief, group practices of emotion and affect could be considered in terms of foreground, middleground and background. Foreground being emotion that is experienced in the present, voluntary and 'felt'. Background refers to those habituated or sedimented, involuntary and 'remembered' emotions. Middleground understands affect to be the combinatory and interactive processes connecting them. 'Grounding' emotion and affect in this way helped to bring together theories that dealt with the relational, embodied and cognitive aspects of emotion and affect without constraining them to individual bodies. The preceding chapters were constructed of themes, generated from analysis of data collected for each SJE and evidenced by interview quotes (Braun & Clarke, 2019) and analysis of video footage, that were related to the theoretical framework and appropriate research questions. This chapter moves to a higher level of abstraction by identifying how these themes can be considered together to elucidate how the results of the three case studies address the research questions of this thesis. Knitting these analytical threads together, from across the three case studies, this chapter now examines the attempt to develop a new framework for researching collective emotion.

Social History and Background Emotion

As discussed in Chapter 1, research utilising aggregate scores of collective emotion suggest a static phenomenon, that is largely experienced in the same way across group members (Sullivan, 2015; van Leeuwen, van Stekelenburg, &

Klandermans, 2016; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Collective emotion is usually conceived as an outcome of the ability to enact identity (Hopkins et al., 2016; Khan et al., 2016) through participation in collective action with in-group members (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005). The research presented in this thesis suggests that this is an oversimplification of the role of emotion in groups. As has been demonstrated, emotion was found to change over time and space at SJEs associated with the same issue (Brexit; Chapter 4 and Chapter 6) and compared to an unrelated event (Pride; Chapter 5). Throughout this research, large-scale SJEs were perceived and constructed as a positive highlight in an otherwise negative socio-political environment. Accounts described an intensity to this positive feeling, described as 'carnival-esque' at all three SJEs, that was qualitatively different from individual and group-based experience in everyday life. The implication could be that they act as a reprieve or a release and follow quite a simple cause-and-effect process (Hochschild, 2016; Stürmer & Simon, 2009). Throughout this section the importance of the different social histories surrounding the SJEs is explored; this helps to clarify and understand the sense that interviewees made of the collective action they were engaged in because this influenced and structured their social interactions on individual and collective levels (Gould, 2009; Wetherell, 2012; Sullivan, 2018). As proposed in the theoretical framework, set out in Chapter 2, analysis of background and foreground emotions emotion and affect is necessary to fully understand the dynamics of collective emotion.

Emotion was found to be temporally and spatially dynamic across the SJEs which is important because it demonstrates that collective emotion cannot be fully captured through the amalgamation of self-ratings or understood simply as an outcome of public assembly (Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve, 2011; von Scheve & Ismer,

2013). Accounts from interviewees from both anti-Brexit marches evidenced a pattern of emotion similar to the concept of “time-bubbles of nationalism” (Collins, 2012). Emotion on such occasions are not instances of national feeling but positive collective affective feelings generated in response to the SJE which then disperse over time and are revitalised at future events. Interviewees who had attended both anti-Brexit SJEs described how depressed and hopeless they each felt in advance of both marches; the elation, pride and hope felt at the Put it to the People March (PPM; Chapter 4) was not lasting. Participants recollected negative emotion in advance of the Final Say March (FSM; Chapter 6) which implied a return to an emotional habitus that echoed that preceding the PPM. Over time, the marches became peaks of positive emotion that interspersed the prevailing negative background emotional habitus which fits with Collins’ (2012) idea of a period of rejuvenation between significant emotional events. A similar pattern of this emotional time-course was hinted at by Pride interviewees who attended multiple parades throughout the Pride season or mentioned annual involvement as a highlight of their year and an escape from the heteronormative rules of everyday life.

The use of comparative case studies, rather than isolated instances, allowed for the collection of data that could afford a more nuanced, detailed and informative account of group and collective emotion at SJEs. Within the theoretical framework proposed, emotional habitus and affective arrangements provided useful ways of understanding these affective peaks and troughs. The emotional habitus provided a consistent affective background which made the intensity and contrast of the physical SJEs more significant (Misztal, 2003b; Szanto & Slaby, 2020). It was theorised that affective arrangements would be an invaluable approach to exploring the influence of non-human factors on affect and emotion at the SJEs (Chapter 2).

Moreover, as the research progressed, it also proved helpful in understanding how human and non-human bodies were organised to affectively interact in psychological, not just physical, spaces. As mentioned throughout the thesis, there were socially constructed collectives that existed in the collective imaginary and constituted communities and audiences that, while imagined, were imbued with affect.

Anti-Brexit interviewees portrayed their emotional habitus as being the result of having been consigned to a different social status, excluded from the accepted majority, which meant they went unheard. The EU referendum result may suggest that there was a pro-Brexit majority in the UK, however, it was only a matter of couple of percentage points and has been highly contested since the referendum (Ford & Goodwin, 2017; Hughes, 2019). In these cases, divisive rhetoric fuelled the affective polarisation of the UK over Brexit and development of strongly-held prejudicial beliefs on both sides of the issue (Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020; Hughes, 2019). For those involved with the anti-Brexit marches, potentially fractious social interactions aside, there are no social constraints to them being open about their pro-EU stance in public. For LGBTQ+ individuals, and to some extent even their allies, there is an ever-present fear of inhospitable behaviour, from social derision to physical violence, attached to not conforming to heteronormative social demands. Therefore, it would be misleading to equate their exclusion from the social majority with that of LGBTQ+ participants.

Only 5 to 7% of the UK population are LGBTQ+ and constitute a significant minority (Government Equalities Office, 2019; Office for National Statistics, 2020; Stonewall, 2020). Anti-LGBTQ+ prejudice is ingrained in social history and has become sedimented, internalised and almost second-nature to individuals (Gould,

2009; Wetherell, 2012). The social entrenchment of this prejudice is evident in, and propagated by, institutional and widespread societal responses such as the construction of the HIV crisis as a ‘gay plague’ (Gould, 2009) and the enactment of Section 28 legislation (Epstein, 2000; Sanders & Spraggs, 1989). Consequently, ostracism from society is an embedded part of the LGBTQ+ collective memory and an ongoing cultural trauma (Alexander, 2012). This can be seen in recent survey findings where 70% of LGBTQ+ respondents were fearful of repercussions if they disclosed their sexual or gender identity and 40% had been subjected to verbal or physical abuse (Government Equalities Office, 2019). Similarly, it was evident in the accounts of interviewees in this research when they expressed feelings of isolation, fear of rejection and the necessity to conform to standards that required they hide their sexual or gender identity.

Nonetheless, there are still important similarities that can be drawn across cases. All interviewees inhabited negative environments as a result of fearing ridicule, rejection or oppression by others. Media and other public narratives framed their identities or political beliefs as invalid, intolerable and ‘other’. When enacted in the public domain, by influential figures for example, the existence of these groups as social minorities was created and sedimented within collective memory (Lambert, Scherer, Rogers, & Jacoby, 2009). The social construction of groups acts to emphasise difference and divide society through the creation of emotion-laden ‘us and them’ distinctions (Ahmed, 2004a; Berg, von Scheve, Yasemin Ural, & Walter-Jochum, 2019). In this research, interviewees were grouped in the social imaginary as collectives ascribed less societal value and undesirable traits that evoked negative feeling from the out-group.

The differing collective memories of the issue-specific collectives could also explain the diverse emotional habitus associated with the SJEs. LGBTQ+ individuals already held a status that was socially precarious and have always held such a status in Western society. Their negative emotional habitus is entrenched whereby isolation and fear have become habituated over time. There are, however, gradual positive social changes that are a source of hope such as the repeal of Section 28 in 2003 (Greenland & Nunney, 2008). Contrastingly, anti-Brexit marches happened as a result of a quickly evolving and reactionary emotional habitus. Not only had the assumed progressive and positively-regarded, if not high, social status of Remainers been subverted, their future had become precarious and unknown and changed from a (positively) stable situation to an unstable one. For many involved there is an unfamiliar need to navigate emotions of anger, grief and hopelessness; feelings that unsettle social positions, identities and social norms that were previously taken for granted (Ferbrache & MacClancy, 2021). The LGBTQ+ collective has attained a (negative) stability which means they are accustomed and habituated to holding a social status that they actively resist. Such undesirable, even harmful, affective backgrounds to their everyday lives disposes social collectives, and those who identify with them, to particular affective practices and ways of socially interacting (Gould, 2009; Szanto & Slaby, 2020; Wetherell, 2012).

Imagined Audiences, Communities and Pre-SJE Practices

A main aim of this research was to investigate how patterns and displays of collective emotion at SJEs were influenced and shaped by the practice and presence of (real or imagined) others. This was explicitly explored in Chapter 5 with regard to the manifestation of an imagined community, specifically, the LGBTQ+ or gay

community; a commonly employed, but often undefined, phrase that implies a cohesive and intimate group of people (Formby, 2017). References to a synonymous 'Remainer community' are less common although 'Remainer(s)' has become a well-used word by politicians and media alike that evoked emotion-laden stereotypes attributable to a specific group of people (Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020; Hughes, 2019). The LGBTQ+ community is more myth than physical reality (Formby, 2017; Pullen, 2009) and Remainers are unassigned a 'community' status. However, they are referred to in public discourse and "portraying a group, an individual, an idea, or an object in the registers of affect contributes to its bodily creation and perception" (Berg, von Scheve, Yasemin Ural, & Walter-Jochum, 2019, p. 52). The presence of others also featured in discussions of the imagined audiences that anti-Brexit marches were targeted towards, as well as, the role that the co-present collective had as a self-focussed audience (Chapter 6). Therefore, as part of the societal imaginary they are both collectives of people that are, at least, imagined to exist (Anderson, 1991). As such, they are interacted with, and experienced, as real entities or social institutions (Lo Presti, 2013) that are imbued with affect (Collins, 2004). As imagined entities they became affectively arranged in the collective imaginary; arbitrary social creations that are not fully real and mind-dependent (Tuomela, 2017). The narratives constructed around these imagined communities creates affective positions and psychological spaces that people can gravitate toward or distance themselves from. In this research, they were social constructs that interviewees rallied around and participated with to create a counter-story to challenge or appropriate dominant narratives (Eyerman, 2004).

Having an awareness of the existence of like-minded or similarly positioned others does not equate to collective feeling. Indeed, many of the criteria proposed for

the manifestation of collective emotion are unfulfilled in such cases because they are not felt with mutually aware, co-present others and are therefore not synchronised in response to a shared focus of attention (Salmela, 2012; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Furthermore, being assigned to, and aware of, an imagined community does not entail pre-formed, or spontaneously generated, affective ties or social bonds between potential group members as such connections are actively maintained and developed through group interactions (Busher, 2016; Manstead & Fischer, 2001; Salmela, 2014a). Solidarity cannot be presumed and did not feature in the case studies because it was only mentioned in passing by a couple of interviewees. Where it was evoked, solidarity was understood to be an empathy *for* oppressed others, who were not personally known, and a different emotion to that felt *with* others. This disparity may explain the desire to be involved in collective action for the benefit of the group where togetherness could be experienced in a less dissociated manner. It was important to be visible, show strength in numbers and challenge the dominant narratives of being unpatriotic, with regard to anti-Brexit protests, or deviant, when attending Pride (Butler, 2015; Eyerman, 2004; Lilja, 2017).

SJEs became locations for affect to play out in the 'real world' as a result of imagined communities coalescing as tangible social collectives (Anderson, 1991; Reicher, 2011). Anti-Brexit demonstrations, such as the PPM and FSM, were events where people could come together to make a collective stand, channel feelings of anger and loss into collective actions. Interacting with like-minded others and re-experiencing the elation of being regarded as politically relevant was a direct contrast to their personal realities since the referendum; therefore such events acted as "a giddy release from the feeling of being a stranger in one's own land" (Hochschild, 2016, p. 228). Pride participants emphasised freedom, rather than

anger, as it was a space where they could feel accepted and unfearful; a setting to be themselves without fear of reprisal. These were events where: imagined communities stopped being imagined; political horizons expanded as the positive overcame the negative (Gould, 2009); moral and political values could be publically expressed (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001); and negative narratives could actively be challenged and subverted (Eyerman, 2004).

Gould (2009) concluded that involvement in a social movement provides meaning, purpose and a space to reinvent oneself while experiencing an array of emotions that are not admissible as part of the everyday. The same could be said here but in relation to specific SJEs, affective spaces and practices also ameliorated negative background feelings that had been evoked by the socio-political context. SJEs were places where one could experience more positive emotions, such as personal pride, from being part of the collective actions to resist dominant and oppressive narratives. Additionally, they were sites where groups could be presented, to the world, in ways consistent with how they imagine themselves (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Blee & McDowell, 2012; Tilly, 2008).
These SJEs facilitated identity enactment with others to produce positive emotions rather than emotional energy or collective effervescence (Alnabulsi, Drury, Vignoles, & Oogink, 2020; Durkheim, 1912; Hopkins et al., 2016; Khan et al., 2016) which acts as a ‘bubble’ that disrupts the more stable and pervasive background affect (Collins, 2012).

The findings of this research challenges the importance of an established, cohesive shared group identity akin to those associated with religion, sports or social movements groups. Specifically, research which concludes positive group emotion as the result of attending an identity-relevant event which provides the freedom to

enact a *shared identity* (Alnabulsi, Drury, Vignoles, & Oogink, 2020; Hopkins et al., 2016; Hopkins et al., 2019; Khan et al., 2016). The LGBTQ+ is a diasporic, hidden and imagined community (Gould, 2009; Pullen, 2009) whose 'members' felt prohibited from actively performing their identity. It could be suggested that the gay scene provides regular opportunities to develop an identity however this would ignore the paradox of these safe spaces; while they act to liberate individuals from heteronormative social constraints they simultaneously subjugate them to homonormative ones that can involve risks to health and identity (Pullen, 2009; Holt, 2011; Valentine & Skelton, 2003; Woolvine, 2000). Many LGBTQ+ people feel excluded from such spaces where the isolation and othering, that interviewees spoke about in heteronormative society (Chapter 5), is replicated for those who are not cisgender (Brown, Maragos, Lee, Davidson, & Dashjian, 2016), white (Jaspal, 2017), or homosexual (McLean, 2008).

Furthermore, the LGBTQ+ is not a single, encompassing identity; it is an amalgamation of, potentially overlapping, identities but they are not all one and the same (Formby, 2017; Ghaziani, 2011). The Pride parade was a space of positive emotion partly because there was freedom to enact individual identities, however, this was not the case for everyone. Allies at Pride parades, while welcomed, are considered to be separate from the LGBTQ+ community (McFarland Bruce, 2016) and this came across in their own, and other, interviewee accounts. Whether involved with Pride as an LGBTQ+ person who wanted to be visible or as someone who was non-LGBTQ+ but there to support those who were, there were no indications that the positive emotions experienced were any less intense. There was a multiplicity of identities within the Pride event, some of which were indeed shared, and this was identified as a space in which LGBTQ+ people could feely enact their

identity. It was not, however, the same identity across attendees yet emotion was positive and collective which supports the decision to include a conceptualisation of 'togetherness', rather than just group membership, in the theoretical framework for this research.

Alternatively, the anti-Brexit marches were spaces that could be conceived as being predominantly comprised of people who considered themselves to be Remainers although, as mentioned later, there were reports of non-Remainers attending who supported a second referendum. This does not, however, equate to the positive emotion being the result of performing an established identity at the SJE. Most interviewees reported minimal interactions both online or in the real world; many actively avoided both traditional and social media as they were perceived to be negative spaces for Remainers to engage with (research has found this to be the experience of both Brexit identities; see Meredith & Richardson, 2019). This did not, however, lead all Remainers to seek support from others in local anti-Brexit groups. Lacking regular engagement with the social processes of negotiating or enacting a Remainer identity prevented the formation and strengthening of social bonds, over time, that has been deemed essential for the subsequent experience of positive affect at SJEs (Busher, 2016; Gould, 2009; Pilkington, 2016). The camaraderie of a cohesive group preceding collective action, which those involved with local groups experienced, was absent on arrival at the SJE, for those who did not engage with local activist groups, because they attended with friends, family or on their own and the affective ties of an established group identity had not been established.

In terms of how the background emotional habitus and foreground group-based and collective emotions changed over time, there were two elements of the Pride case study that differentiate it from the anti-Brexit marches. The first relates to

the impact of social interaction and organisation preceding the event. Apart from four Pride interviewees, all were in the parade with work colleagues or organisation-specific LGBTQ+ networks, rather than purely LGBTQ+ interest groups, who had applied to the 'Pride in London' organisers to be involved as small groups representing their institution (each of whom was allowed a maximum of 70 attendees). Organisation of these groups at local levels took different formats across establishments; for some this did involve regular group meetings to plan for the parade whereas others organised by virtual methods that did not require this. The difference was apparent in descriptions of nervous excitement at meeting their companions on the day or the escalation of excitement in the weeks before the parade. For those where camaraderie was fostered and built-up, in their local institutions, their existence became less isolated and hidden as they were able to make connections with similar others and work towards a shared goal. Unlike the majority of anti-Brexit interviewees, there was a change in their emotional habitus as a result of the anticipated SJE and the actions around it; there was also a shift from I-mode to we-mode as collective emotions strengthened. This is a local we-mode that is associated with their organisation, and small parade group that they are involved with, not we-mode with a more global, imagined LGBTQ+ community. Participants made sense of the building emotion as a shared and essential aspect of their emotional experience which demonstrates the role that togetherness and shared emotion can play prior to the manifestation of collective emotions at an event.

A second, unique element was that of societal affective practices employed beyond these small, locally mobilised groups. Social and political movement-style tactics of local, micro-mobilisation (Britt & Heise, 2000) were used in conjunction with an implicit style of advertising and promotion. Gradually queering the London

cityscape in advance of the parade through the use of flags, paint and other prominent displays of allegiance and support for Pride by businesses and institutions (Chapter 5). Although some groups may have been influential in these displays, for example within individual institutions, this aspect in the build-up to the event was beyond the direct control of participants. These social affective practices were communicating with an imagined audience which was comprised of supporters and non-supporters. The shift in emotional habitus for many LGBTQ+ interviewees began in advance of the parade as a result of these displays engendering safety and pride and sending the message that they were welcome in London. Simultaneously, the general public was 'primed' for the upcoming event and being prepared for a weekend when London would become an inclusive space; as this widespread approach is not one taken at all UK Pride events it can result in them being public events that are poorly received (Johnston, 2007). The lack of public consultation in pre-configuring public space by bastions of authority, such as Pride in London organisers and government officials, heralded that Pride, and by default the LGBTQ+ community, belonged to and were an integral part of London. Importantly, the use of colours and flags in physical spaces in advance of the parade positioned the LGBTQ+, in the collective imaginary, as being 'ours' and promoting a sense of togetherness in (London) society.

In the Pride case study, their own local-level mobilisation was supplemented by the affective practices of others that disrupted the emotional habitus, rearranged physical spaces and their affective capacity and influenced how collective action could be experienced. These findings add to the existing research by clearly demonstrating that SJEs should not be considered as isolated events that generate group emotion or that any emotion generated through them is simply an outcome, or

norm, of a previously established group identity. Where Collins' (2012) concept of emotional time-bubbles takes an event as the catalyst to collective emotion that dissipates over time, the Pride parade, and to some extent the anti-Brexit marches, show how the path to positive collective emotion can start before that and play a role in creating different flows or patterns of affect going forward. The affective-situational context of these events needs to be taken into account in order to be able to appreciate the way that background emotions feed into present actions and social practices (Gould, 2009; Ahmed, 2004a), as well as, how more immediate, foreground emotions can be resistant to sedimented or habituated affect (McConville, McCreanor, Wetherell, & Moewaka Barnes, 2017; Wetherell, 2012).

Emergent Social Collectives

Across the cases studies, a combination of shared mood and emotional energy (Collins, 2004) was palpable beyond the geographical boundaries of the physical confines of each SJE. Conceptualising this as an affective atmosphere (Anderson, 2009; 2014) because interviewees perceive, and are subject to, this pervasive positive affect would fail to capture the conscious actions and behaviours, the affective practices and social interactions, that are essential to its generation (Wetherell, 2013; Wetherell, McConville, & McCreanor, 2019). Interviewee descriptions of initial impressions at the events, such as at the assembly areas at the beginning of each SJE, portrayed how their individual attention was captured by what was going on around them. At all three events, elements such as the amount of people, bright colours, outlandish or humorous costumes, music, and banners were highlighted; these were often described as carnival-esque spaces, filled with energy and anticipation, which evoked happiness and laughter. Positive emotion such as

joy, resulting from co-present others, was being shared with them but was not experienced as a collective phenomenon.

When first arriving at SJEs, many accounts highlighted how personal emotions were contingent on features of the SJE that they were passively observing rather than directly interacting with. Participants appraised others' emotion and activities at these meeting-point locations, i.e., Hyde Park and Portland Place, as congruent with positive, joyful emotions which informed their own emotional response (Manstead & Fischer, 2001). At the anti-Brexit marches, this was most often not suggestive of collective or shared group emotion at these locations because, beyond a recognition of similar emotion in others, accounts did not associate emotional descriptions with togetherness. For Pride participants, where the majority attended with a pre-organised group, there were mixed accounts of low-level collective and group emotion. Those with local groups whose members had built affective ties related their experience as more unified whereas those meeting unknown group members depicted a more detached emotional situation. This is because a group of individuals feeling similar emotions is not equivalent to collective emotion and feeling part of a collective, or togetherness, is not simply a cognitive state which is either on or off (Thonhauser, 2018; Salmela, 2014a). Critically, there needs to be a sense of connection and togetherness where emotions are synchronous and a sense of unity beyond oneself or immediate others. This unity, and any attendant collective emotions, is not an automatic outcome because people are presumed to have a shared group membership (Brown, 2020; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013).

The value interviewees placed on achieving the goals of the collective action they are engaged in was variable; some explained that circumventing Brexit was

unlikely and the efficacy of their political march was questionable. Suggesting shared group values or, failing that, a shared main goal should be tentatively inferred unless this has been explored with each participant. Claims, or presumptions, of shared group values are feasibly more valid for established groups where goals and values have been agreed or accepted by group members. Nevertheless, where there are existing group identities, boundaries or values should not be taken for granted because they are subjective and individual similarities do not "constitute salient grounds for group identification" (Salmela, 2014a, p. 166). What can be surmised is that there was individual agreement on the use of collective action and that this then became a shared focus of attention (pro-group I-mode). Moreover, co-ordinated behaviour within the events facilitated feelings of togetherness at various points in each SJE, for example the Mexican wave at the PPM or the interplay between the parade and audience at Pride, leading to we-mode. As a result, emotions became synchronised between people and manifested as intensely felt and pervasive collective emotions (Salmela, 2014a; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). The point being made is that group and collective emotion did not manifest simply because like-minded people assembled. It was generated through social interactions and collaboration between the assembled people, although, this was a process that quickly gathered momentum. These are findings that were only possible as a result of adopting a broad concept of togetherness in the theoretical framework for this research because it encouraged the various features of the SJEs, such as co-presence and feelings of togetherness, to be considered in tandem.

At Pride, the heterogeneity of the assemblage was very clear; there were multiple organisations, genders, sexualities, ethnicities, and event roles. The event roles were more varied than indicated in the research as the focus was on those in

the parade or those observing, however, there were countless other roles such as security, volunteers, disinterested Londoners, among others. As interviewees recounted, local group identities were often more salient than individual or collective LGBTQ+ identities because this was how they were identified within the parade. Despite this, all interviewees still recounted intensely felt positive emotions in response to the affective behaviour of those around them. Further, they also described how interactions between their local group and co-present out-groups, which would include other parade groups and the presumed heteronormative out-group, heightened the positivity of the experience. This is contrary to findings in other research that positive group emotion is the result of the reinforcement of a shared identity through its enactment with others (Hopkins et al., 2016; Khan et al., 2016) or as a result of empowerment through challenging the out-group (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005). Instead, it indicates that group or collective emotion can be experienced by less cohesive social collectives and without a co-present antagonist.

Brexit identities, in this instance as Remainers, have strong emotional attachments (Curtice, 2018; Hobolt, Leeper, & Tilley, 2020) which made it more difficult to analytically disentangle the contribution of interviewee emotion from their shared group membership. Demonstrating their support of remaining in the EU was their motivation to attend the SJE and other, competing or overlapping, identities were not prominent in the individual interviews. However, at the FSM, there were accounts from those who left before, or were present but felt disconnected from, the collective euphoria described. A less nuanced investigation of emotion and identity may have found that these participants still reported positive emotions and high identification with the Remain group which might have been used as grounds for

concluding that group identity was the mediating variable. In this case study, prescribed identities were insufficient explanations of this variation between interviewee accounts or the observable intensity of emotional behaviour. Instead, analysis demonstrated that the physical proximity of others combined with the ability to focus on, and mutually respond to, the same object of attention was crucial. In this research, group emotion is generated by the people involved, they are not simply subject to it, and group membership is but one element of the collective emotion. Consequently, concepts such as atmosphere and identity, can only provide starting points to a more nuanced understanding of SJEs as sites of emotional activity, experience and expression (Brown, 2020; Wetherell, 2012).

Across the three cases there were different ways that people entered a state of we-mode and experienced collective emotion in relation to the SJEs. The majority of anti-Brexit interviewees related scenarios where collective emotions and group identification were interdependent and strengthened as I-mode interest became pro-group I-mode orientation and finally we-mode engagement. Nevertheless, local mobilisations were places where a level of we-mode had already been achieved, in advance of the SJE, which then became a superordinate we-mode in terms of a larger social collective and "acting in relation to several groups" (Tuomela, 2017, p. 175). There was harmonization between social collectives and a "group intentionally requiring that members of one group, say work-place, act in accordance with the requirements of some other group" (Laitinen, 2017, p. 162); locally mobilised groups co-ordinating with, or conforming to, the main SJE organiser, i.e., 'Pride in London' and the 'People's Vote Movement' campaign group. A multi-stage 'pathway' to achieving togetherness is absent in social identity research which functions with the premise of cognitive shifts between individual and social identities (Brown, 2020;

Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Conversely, we-mode theorisations of group dynamics propose a transformation from I-mode to we-mode, however, it would imply we-mode as a final stage to becoming a cohesive collective. The findings in this research evidence that there is more than one level to we-mode which suggests there needs to be a broader concept of we-mode, for this research and more generally, to encapsulate the variety of paths that can lead to the emergence of social collectives and collective emotion.

The Intense Emotionality of the Aroused Assembly

At the SJEs investigated, collective emotion was not simply a linear progression of heightening emotion that reached its zenith and then dissipated at the culmination of the event. Rather, in a manner consistent with observational studies of political marches, the anti-Brexit marches were more emotionally labile where chanting, singing and the Mexican soundwave punctuated more sedate periods of walking and chatting (Schweingruber & McPhail, 1999). The Pride parade offered more ongoing, high intensity emotion which stemmed from the ongoing interaction between those in the parade and the observers. Even this consistently high state of emotional arousal was interspersed with moments of vacillating intensity. Salmela (2014a) proposed that strengthening collective emotion facilitates the transformation of I-mode to we-mode (see Chapter 2) participation in group and crowd activity. He also highlighted that, other than the qualitative and felt dimensions of full we-mode, it is difficult to appreciate how a strong collective emotion would differ from a more moderate one as pro-group I-mode becomes we-mode (Salmela, 2014a). Following on from this, the findings of intense positive emotion in various forms at these SJEs led to questions about whether collective emotion continues to strengthen or become

stable in situations where feelings of togetherness or we-mode have been achieved. Also, if collective emotion continues to intensify, what affective practical features would differ and how would a given situation influence its magnification.

Comparing the case studies revealed how patterns of emotion changed at SJEs and which features and properties were influential. There were varying degrees, or felt intensities, of collective emotion which was independent of strength of identity or a sense of togetherness. In the examples discussed below, interviewees recounted feelings of camaraderie and togetherness, as well as, heightened emotion. Analysis of foreground and background affects and emotions, across the case studies, provided an insight into how particular intense collective emotions differed yet were equally intense. The social practices and behaviours that were most often associated with feelings of togetherness and intensified collective emotions were those that involved multiple people because “the more they are equally involved in the collective experience, the greater the emotional effect of that event on those persons” (Knottnerus, 2014, p. 317). One immediately observable joint practice, highlighted across SJEs, was the use of colours that could be identifiably associated with a social cause rather than a specific group. Interviewee accounts relayed how fear and anxiety, related to how they may be received by strangers in their everyday lives, was alleviated at the SJEs because of the perception of being with like-minded others. This was a direct result of the affective practices employed to communicate why they were in, or travelling to, London (i.e. for the SJEs); the rainbow colours of Pride and the blue and yellow of the EU were displayed by the majority of participants in a variety of formats such as clothing, flags and stickers. As a result, event attendees could instantly identify those they have kinship or similarity with which evoked a sense of togetherness that outweighed

concerns about them being a personally unknown other (Derbaix & Decrop, 2011; Hopkins et al., 2019; Simons, 2020; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016).

Displaying a social identity, through clothing for example, is a conscious choice which communicates political and moral standing (Feinberg, Mataro, & Burroughs, 1992) and is a method often used in social movements to demonstrate their worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (WUNC; Tilly & Wood, 2013). They also serve to emphasise, or at least temporarily create, similarity between attendees; this acts as a cultural bridging practice that promotes feelings of togetherness (Braunstein, Fulton, & Wood, 2014; Guibernau, 2013). As both affiliative symbols and enacted affective practices these actions afford and arouse further emotion in themselves and others by presenting and performing an identity, laden with value and affect, which attracts in-group members, and supporters, while simultaneously repelling out-group members. (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Collins, 2004; Crossley, 2003; Tilly & Wood, 2013; Wetherell, 2012). This is an essential aspect of these events because those involved are coming from places where they feel isolated, unheard and invisible and because there is an enormous amount of diversity in an assemblage of one million individuals.

Other notable elements highlighted throughout the case studies were joint activities that people could become involved in as a cooperative effort, such as chanting and singing at the anti-Brexit marches, which stimulated feelings of togetherness and camaraderie. For co-present others attending the SJEs even potentially controversial acts were a source of feelings of solidarity and togetherness. Examples in this research were the almost hostile ‘Bollocks to Brexit’ chants and slogans (Chapter 7) and the pantomime jeering, instigated by speakers at the anti-Brexit marches, of well-known actors from the Leave campaign (Chapter 5). Affective

practices can serve to alienate and unite people and groups dependent on whether recipients agree or understand their meaning (Wetherell, 2012). For those at the SJEs, such collective displays heightened feelings of pride and connection to others who they perceived to be part of their social group while simultaneously eliciting less positive responses, ranging from good-natured banter to open hostility, from a minority of others who may be present[6].

These behaviours generated a low-level collective emotion because there were moments of synchronous positive affect resulting from co-ordinated behaviour with co-present others. However, collectively owned as these affective interactions were, they were not conveyed as emotionally powerful. This is not to dismiss the associated descriptions of fun and excitement but their muted quality may reflect the predictability or banality of such features. Shared social history and the arrangement of physical space meant that attendees were prepared to engage in chanting and singing in the marches and anticipated responding to speakers at the rally because these are elements that are commonly associated with political protests and rallies (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017; Tilly, Castañeda, & Wood, 2019; Turner, 2019). The low-level collective emotion could also be on account of there being other, more memorable and less mundane, features of the SJEs, such as those discussed below, which interviewees were unconsciously comparing them to.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the novelty or out-of-the-ordinary-ness of events (i.e., socially accepted but not banal everyday activities) has been identified as a factor in the generation of intense collective emotion (Knottnerus, 2010; Sullivan, 2012). Higher emotional intensity has been suggested as a reason for certain events

[6] Present out-group members at the SJEs were mentioned in passing by a few interviewees and documented by the researcher; such as pro-Brexit supporters shouting derogatory comments or a couple of anti-LGBTQ+ protesters with placards. The influence they had on participants' positive recollections was minimal and not included for this reason.

becoming remembered and embedded in collective memory and social narratives as a result of increased social sharing (Armstrong & Crage, 2006; Collins, 2012; Misztal, 2003b; Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009). Interviewee accounts confirm this to be the case for the SJEs in these case studies. The fine-grained, micro-level analysis conducted in this research demonstrated that it was not simply the novelty of the event, or the ability to perform an identity, that participants associated with shared and intense emotions. Rather, it was the manner of practicing emotion and affect with others as a social and collective behaviour that was identified as significant. Further, a consistent theme throughout the cases being investigated was that emotion was most memorable, and intense, where joint social practices were unexpected.

Initial surprise was expressed by some anti-Brexit marchers because, on arrival at the SJEs, they encountered what was reminiscent of a festival rather than anger or hopelessness that they had become accustomed to on an everyday level. However this was adjusted to relatively quickly as it became a stable feature with the progression of each event. The majority of emotions recounted about the PPM (Chapter 5) were low-level positive collective emotions which could be either because there were no identifiable moments of surprise or because moments of higher arousal were quite instantaneous. The Mexican soundwave was a collective behaviour that, momentarily, emphasised feelings of being connected to other marchers as everyone cheered and shouted together. The sheer momentum of this wave of noise meant it was fleeting; with the unexpected collective joy unsustainable and vanishing as the roar rumbled through the march. While it was a behaviour that was infrequently repeated over the duration of the marches it retained its uniqueness as an experience of intense elation because it could not be anticipated. Despite such

brevity, it highlights how the tangible movement of affect in a physical, social space can ignite even momentary flashes of collective emotion.

The element of surprise was not always as explicit in the Pride case study. Observers reaching in to touch those in the parade was a source of surprise linked to the LGBTQ+ collective memory and emotional habitus. For individuals who experienced such affective encounters these were often remembered as personally significant even though they were not instances of a collective behaviour, experience or response. Surprise was also attributed to the ongoing interactions between those in the parade and those observing. The spatial arrangement meant that, whether stationary or mobile, attendees were continually introduced to a new object of attention which led to a sustained level of aroused affect throughout the duration of, and unique to, the Pride parade. As explored in the case study, an awareness of co-present out-group members, being an 'object' of their attention and even physical safety barriers did not result in feelings of an 'us-and-them' dynamic with the potential for hostility as found in similar settings (Cocking & Drury, 2004; Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005).

Rather, the unexpected, collective practices of support, from the presumed out-group, before and during the event led to an expanded sense of unity that left interviewees feeling moved and positively overwhelmed. Pervasive as this powerful emotion was, 'being moved' was an unfamiliar state which people did not consciously share with others. Potentially interviewees made sense of the affective experience as personal because they were unsure how to express, interpret or make sense of a mixture of tears and happiness in such a positive environment. As a response to the collective behaviour and emotions observed in others being moved

supports the notion of unexpected, joint affective practices heightening collective emotion and being more memorable.

Comparing the case studies, the rally locations at the anti-Brexit marches were places where peak displays of collective emotion occurred which can be partially explained on the basis that these spaces were pre-configured as a traditional stage-audience setup and were experienced as a familiar and 'managed' affective space which included both reverence, pantomime and embodied euphoria. Through combining sequential analysis of video footage and interviewee accounts, it was clear that a comprehensible and observable example of intense collective emotion was the response to the Letwin vote (Chapter 6). This was an example of intense, uninterrupted collective outpouring of emotion to a single event, or object of attention, that participants identified as salient; other events were less frequently referenced and were not described or recounted with the same richness and intensity. Such an unimagined outcome, in the protestors favour, meant that their collective euphoria was attended by astonishment and was in stark contrast to the low-level anxiety that had preceded the live vote taking place. As synchronous affect directed toward the same object of attention that became shared through co-presence at the march this anxiety, or collective angst (Wohl & Branscombe, 2009), was also the only instance of negative collective affect documented, and described, across the cases.

Despite the use of similar affective practices to previous anti-Brexit marches, such as those encouraging positive unity through humour and colour, the anticipated festival atmosphere was dampened and somewhat mixed. Expectations that the Letwin vote would be 'lost' meant that the FSM was infiltrated by the fearful and depressed affect from their individual emotional habitus. There was a perceived

immediate threat to their group identity and the efficacy of their collective action; this was a barrier to the generation of a ‘bubble’ of positive emotion (Collins, 2012). Tensions between positive and negative affect were a distinctive feature of this event where participants felt that political possibilities were diminishing where previously the PPM had expanded them. The certainty that attended the expectation of the vote being unfavourable meant that euphoria and relief at the result were all the more amplified. Even in this single case study the dynamism and fluidity of collective emotion is apparent in the varying valence and intensity over the course of one event lasting only a few short hours.

The consistent features that constitute collective emotion and, specifically, that of togetherness therefore, are the collective ownership of the affective experience and the state of ‘we-mode’. Those features of practice that vary with the emotion are those related to affective arrangements (for example, a mobile group compared to a stationary one) and the influence of the emotional habitus on the practice of affect. The focus of attention was a further consistently important feature, however, the almost instantaneous re-evaluation and response indicates these “emotions as felt evaluations constituted by intra- and inter-bodily resonance” (Thonhauser, 2020, p. 222) on a collective level (Helm, 2002; 2020). This was evident in the simultaneous collective euphoria to the Letwin vote and the ongoing high energy response at Pride; social collectives responding in the moment to their immediate situational context. Demonstrated is the influence that social history can have on the expressed quality and practice of emotion which complements previous research (Gongaware, 2010; Gould, 2009; Wetherell, McConville, & McCreanor, 2019). Where the expectation of a negative outcome was high and embedded in social history the experience was overwhelming and confusing (Pride), when such

an outcome was a more recent group concern there was sustained collective euphoria (Letwin vote) and where this was simply unexpected and in the moment, unrelated to collective memory, the response was brief but intense (Mexican soundwave).

Collective Emotion and Resonating Together

Within and across events, collective emotion was demonstrated to be associated with feelings of togetherness, co-presence and a shared focus of attention (Salmela, 2014a; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). The interplay of such factors, or affective resonance, has been posited as "*a dynamic of multi-directional causal interaction* from which this collective affect results" (Mühlhoff, 2019, p. 196). As the remainder of the chapter will highlight, across these SJEs, an essential feature of collective emotion was the use of similar strategies and practices that promoted feelings of being unified social collectives. Accounts were shown to be congruent for participants at an event independent of how they perceived their group membership status. Individualised, idiosyncratic experiences of being moved at Pride were reported as overwhelming by LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ interviewees alike (Chapter 5). In contrast, reactions to the Letwin vote, at the FSM, were greatly diminished where interviewees were disconnected from the event even though they retained a strong sense of their Remainer identity (Chapter 6). Therefore, the theoretical framework proposed at the beginning of this thesis will be revisited to highlight the nuances of collective emotion discussed in this research.

Taking a very broad view of the SJEs, it is clear that displays and patterns of shared emotion changed in a way that is similar to Collins' (2012) concept of "time-bubbles". In the specific cases studied, many negative emotions, associated with

narratives evoking affect-laden collective memories (de Saint-Laurent, 2018; Wertsch, 2009), were overridden by feelings of relief, safety and other positive emotions as a result of being with like-minded people and the carnival atmosphere. The “giddy release” (Hochschild, 2016) or alleviation of negative feelings (Stürmer & Simon, 2009) were responses to the affective practices that were utilised at the events or in the immediate period before them. The dynamic nature of affect over time was demonstrated to influence and shape the emotional habitus and affective practices of individuals and collectives.

The theoretical framework proposed that this was expected between the foreground, micro-level, such as the affective practices utilised, and the background, macro-level, for example the emotional habitus. Interactions between other features under consideration were undetermined (see Fig 2.2, Chapter 2). There was significant evidence of the interaction between background and foreground emotion that had an impact on the experience, and intensity, of collective emotion at these SJEs. The analysis highlighted the complexity of emotional dynamics that constitute a multi-dimensional emotional habitus and collective affect (Latif, Blee, DeMichele, & Simi, 2018; Ross, 2014; Sullivan, 2014a). This interaction was evidenced in the disruption of background emotion and emotional habitus by the immediate situational context. Widespread affective practices of support and transformation of public environments, in advance of Pride, and the predominance of practices that encouraged positivity and social interaction on arrival at the anti-Brexit marches were the most salient instances of background-foreground interaction happening at these SJEs. Contrastingly, the manifestation of collective angst at the FSM demonstrates how the emotional habitus and sedimented practices, even when resisted, can influence the present and, in this case, dampen the carnivalesque feel of the event.

This indicates that emotional habitus is possibly more malleable a phenomenon than Gould (2009) proposes. Emotional habitus explanations emphasise the involuntary, non-conscious properties of affective encounters whereas these findings would suggest collective agency where background affect can inform and constrain, but not prescribe, the social practice of emotions and the possible influence of innovative affective practices in the present (Gammerl, 2012; Wetherell, 2012).

The most obvious displays of emotion as a collective, and the most effective way to communicate it, was through sound; cheering, shouting, whistling and clapping were all features of the SJEs. The Mexican soundwave unified formal groups and informal marchers to demonstrate the strength of assembled bodies; intermittent bursts of collective voice, within an otherwise restrained group, symbolising their resolve like a vocal heartbeat. In spaces where there was an audience setup, the observing crowd of Pride and the anti-Brexit rallies at the end of each march, sound was used as an affiliative affective practice through the variation of volume. The management of affect using sound at the rallies was more clearly directed by those on stage, in that they could invite responses from the gathered collective, whereas the interacting groups at Pride were more self-managed (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017). Accompanying this were the associated visual behaviours that are discernible when encountering, or observing, large groups. Facial expressions were less salient due to the sheer number of faces at these events which meant collective emotion was expressed and understood through bodily actions, as well as, sound. The difference in collective behaviour was particularly evident in the moments where affect spontaneously moved people, such as the collective euphoria at the FSM, to wave arms and placards aloft in a co-ordinated manner which, even without sound, was an “eruption” of emotion. The

visual element of collective emotion was also emphasised in the Pride case study where attendees who did not experience the aural features felt intense emotion and togetherness as a result of a shared focus of attention, co-presence and interactive, embodied social practices.

In order to capture the interplay between the aspects proposed to influence collective emotion, attention was paid to immediate micro-level factors, such as affective practices and arrangements associated with each SJE, whilst being sensitive to the macro-level, background features associated with a groups' identity and social history (Gould, 2009; Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009). The concept of affective arrangements (Slaby, Mühlhoff, & Wüschner, 2017) was included in the theoretical framework to help understand the role of human and non-human interaction in the manifestation of emotion in groups and collectives. The expectation was that this would demonstrate micro-level interactions on the meso-level collective; the arrangement of physical space would encourage or constrain particular expressions and practices of emotion by a collective. This was found to be the case across the SJEs. Interaction between groups was facilitated at the Pride parade due to their separation by physical barriers and assumed roles of performer and audience. At the other events there were no such divisive properties in the SJE format and the collaborative behaviour and affective practices were in-group focussed. As discussed in this chapter, at a macro-level, there was the arrangement of psychological space through the creation of imagined communities and audiences. Definition of in- and out-groups established their affect-laden existence in the collective imaginary (Ahmed, 2004a; Berg, von Scheve, Yasemin Ural, & Walter-Jochum, 2019) and became positions to resist and rally around. In these case studies, the groups people were assigned to or identified with were components of

their negative emotional habitus that motivated individuals to engage in collective action in an effort to challenge dominant narratives and realise the imagined communities.

Importantly, SJEs were not simply figurative islands of positive emotion in a sea of background negative affect. Nor was the disruption to emotional habitus solely achieved because in-group members assembled in public protest, although, as these were spaces where identity could be enacted, group membership was influential in the change of emotion in participants (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005; Menges & Kilduff, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). The SJEs themselves were spaces where emotion demonstrably changed across time and (geographical) space; for example, for many of the interviewees, the intensity of collective joy and excitement gave way to personal, group-based emotions of satisfaction when leaving each of the events. Overall SJEs were depicted as occasions of positive emotion with moments where this heightened in response to others in the procession or location and as joint responses to group-relevant stimuli (Kolesch & Knoblauch, 2019). Peaks of generated emotion were followed by lulls in noise or interactions, at various points within each event, which parallels the notion that instances of collective emotion, over protracted time, require a refractory period before they can re-manifest (Collins, 2012). As discussed, embodied affect influenced changes in individual and collective emotion in very distinct ways which meant that interviewees and observers could detect and report these in ways that exceeded a simple evaluation of valence or arousal.

The way that the protest spaces were configured encouraged multiple practices that fostered different kinds of togetherness. The anti-Brexit marches were physical concentrations of Remain supporters where affective ties could be created

and strengthened with other in-group members through displaying a shared pro-EU stance. Additionally, the relative absence of co-present out-group members encouraged affective practices that focussed on strengthening in-group social bonds and may also reflect the relative recency of mobilisation around Brexit. At the time of marches, the collective trauma of the referendum was at a stage where it was still being performed and reinforced to other group members in order to concretise their unity and commitment over a shared injustice. Consequently, both anti-Brexit marches were events that acted to define in-group boundaries and repel the out-group through the use of controversial humour and mockery. In contrast, Pride is a concept that has taken on various forms since the 1970s and inspired pro-LGBTQ+ events throughout the world (McFarland Bruce, 2016; Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag, 2018a). This Pride parade was the performance and sedimentation of an existing identity for a co-present audience, as well as, the extension of that identity to include others beyond the in-group. Remarkably, the physical setup and separation of the event encouraged interactions between observers and those in the parade. This collaborative performance was a source of feelings of togetherness and shared emotion. While this did not equate everyone becoming an in-group member, it did strengthen we-mode and the sense that the experience and the emotion was collectively owned.

Collective emotions were expressed in affective waves that moved through, with, and between the assembled bodies; generated and propagated by the joint affective practices deployed which were facilitated by the spatial arrangements of people and locations. Moreover, comparing case studies highlighted that collective emotion could be of varying levels of felt intensity as a consequence of shared background emotions. Lower level anticipatory excitement or dread and positive

carnival-esque feel were associated with SJE features that were familiar or expected. Higher levels of emotional arousal could be connected to event activities that were unexpected, a source of relief or highly unlikely; the element of surprise could be expressed in various ways that were related to the emotional habitus. These research findings emphasise the sociality and relationality of group and collective emotion. Elements of the theoretical framework were found to be interrelated and components of the sense of togetherness required for emotion to be a collective phenomenon. In simple terms, physically being with others who were committed to similar values, in a space where co-ordinated emotional behaviours and practices encouraged social bonding, created affective resonance between attendees that manifested as positive collective emotions.

As stated in Chapter 2, the theoretical framework devised for this research was consistent with the claim that "understanding of emotions as felt evaluations constituted by intra- and inter-bodily resonance, is better suited to account for the bodily and the cognitive dynamics involved in episodes of social or collective affectivity" (Thonhauser, 2020, p. 222). The data analysis and findings in each case study have gone on to demonstrate how essential the synchronisation of emotion, shared focus of attention and co-ordinated behaviour is in the manifestation of collective emotion at SJEs. Critically, physically being together with others, subjected to the same affective objects, in the same spaces and locations and at the same time was found to influence collective emotion as a form of affective resonance that was "characterized as a process of reciprocal modulation between interactants" (Mühlhoff, 2019, p. 189).

Chapter 8 : Concluding Thoughts

Using a critical realist philosophical framework that employed a pluralistic qualitative methodology has enabled the research questions for this thesis to be addressed as demonstrated throughout the previous chapter. Interviews with event attendees and analysis of 360-degree video footage found that collective emotion at SJEs was a dynamic social and relational phenomenon. Patterns of emotion were found to be temporally and spatially fluid; changing over prolonged time periods for each SJE case study (i.e. before, during, after and between) SJEs and over the duration of, at different locations and in response to different activities within, an event. Collective emotion resulted from a confluence of interacting elements that led to it building, shifting, waxing and waning in response to an ever-changing social environment.

Building on Wetherell's (2012) framework the case studies demonstrated that affective practices served to disrupt socially embedded background emotion and habitus uniting what were imagined communities in collective action. The immediate, situational affective context and practices could potentially be undermined, influenced and challenged by the emotional habitus when its existence was reaffirmed at the physical events. The configuration of imaginary and physical spaces, at macro- and micro-levels of analysis respectively, influenced the practice and embodiment of affect, as well as, the sense of togetherness participants experienced when identifying with and acting as a social collective before and during SJEs and mostly through attending events. Prioritising isolated properties or features over one another risks oversimplifying collective emotion and rendering it a stimulus-response effect (i.e. SJE leads to collective emotion) rather than a complex social phenomenon. For example, in this study, collective euphoria at the FSM and the

experience of being moved at Pride were not just responses to elements in the SJEs they were products of background emotions interacting with the affective situational context of public assemblage in collective action. Nor were collective positive emotions, such as euphoria or relief, responses attributable to collective empowerment and self-objectification as a result of what the group has done; an association could be made with the collective having a reprieve from feeling disempowered (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005; Drury & Reicher, 2009), as a result of events such as the Letwin vote which were beyond their control, but this was not a shift to a state of collective empowerment.

The broader research aims and objectives of the thesis were also fulfilled as a result of addressing the research questions. They were to:

a) Identify and synthesise theories of group emotion that can frame and guide novel investigations of affective practices and collective emotion in crowd, or large group, situations.
b) Investigate a series of public assemblages of heterogeneous groups (i.e. where a shared group identity is less established or prevalent) to explore the role of group membership in collective emotion formation and facilitation
c) Document, and theorise emotional behaviour in observed crowd or large group situations to generate new understanding about the features and properties of collective emotions and their dynamic relations during such events.

Research objectives (b) and (c) were achieved through the use of comparative case studies investigating a broad remit of SJEs. Where the majority of previous research has focussed on established groups and their activities, over time, associated with a central issue (e.g. Gould, 2009) this thesis has been able to reach conclusions on

group and collective emotion from the evaluation of findings from multiple SJEs for the same issue (Brexit) and an unconnected issue (Pride). A notable exception, mentioned in the literature review, was an investigation of unrelated crowd events, by Neville & Reicher (2011), which emphasised that feelings of connectedness and an increased positive experience were the result of a perceived shared identity or (imagined) emergent social identity as a result of shared experience with co-present others (Neville & Reicher, 2011; Neville, Novelli, Drury, & Reicher, 2020). The current study was able to improve upon findings in the existing literature by incorporating analysis of emotionally dynamic features beyond the physical events, as well as, focussing on crowd events of much larger gatherings of people. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis suggest that developing the concept of emotional resonance (for example between individuals and between the individual and group) could provide an alternative to a focus on isolated mechanisms or properties of group and collective emotion.

The current research offers a nuanced account of the role played by togetherness in the practice and experience of collective emotion at SJEs where the move to we-mode, as a result of public assemblage with like-minded others, was independent of a shared identity. It would be beneficial to investigate cohesiveness of group membership more thoroughly within the same SJE by exploring the differences in experience of unity and affective practice between attendees engaged with pre-organised groups and those who were not. As the role of group cohesion was not a specific aim of the study it was not ‘controlled’ for which, unexpectedly, led to either the predominance of those involved with pre-organised groups (Pride) or those who attended the SJE independently (PPM/FSM) in the sample of participants. Future research could recruit similar numbers of observers and those in the parade,

for events such as Pride, or active, local group members and those only attending national marches. This would provide a more nuanced insight into the sense people made of their experience and the influence that pre-existing social bonds had on affective practice.

Conducting multiple investigations of different SJEs was critical in developing a more nuanced understanding of group and collective emotion as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Inspired by existing integrated theories of collective emotion (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; Sullivan, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) a theoretical framework was devised that allowed various features and theories of group emotion to be investigated together (Chapter 2). Instead of favouring the agentic, consciousness of embodied practice of affect (Wetherell, 2012) or the directive, subliminality of habituated or sedimented emotion (Gould, 2009) this research has demonstrated the value of analysing their interactions (Brown, 2020; Gammerl, Hutta, & Scheer, 2017; Malthaner, 2017). In these cases of large-scale mobilisation there was evidence of pre-formed (local) we-mode collectives, and individuals, coalescing. This indicated that Tuomela's (2007; 2013) concept of we-mode engagement interacted with collective emotions (Salmela, 2014a) and could be further developed to include a superordinate we-mode for situations such as SJEs. Further, much of the existing research conceptualises collective emotion as a state that is reached (Menges & Kilduff, 2015; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013) but, as their focus is on the processes that generate peak emotions, they offer few empirical insights into what that *state* is, what contributed to it and how it will further develop. Where theory posits collective emotion as a variable state it is in an effort to explain how group emotion and the sense of commitment to a group are mutually interdependent (Salmela, 2014a) and does not account for variation in collective

emotion where we-mode has occurred and is relatively stable. This thesis has found variable levels of intensity and arousal of collective emotion in response to affective features and practices that are unanticipated or surprising within an event (micro-level) and the embeddedness of background affect or habitus (macro-level).

While this research was able to include recollections from a wide spectrum of attendees this was primarily achieved if considering 'traditional' demographics such as age, gender, and sexuality. LGBTQ+ representation in the Pride case study parallels similar research (e.g. Peterson, Wahlström, & Wennerhag (2018a; 2018b)), in which some perspectives are less represented because there was insufficient participant variation in terms of cultural background, gender-identity, ableness and education. Incorporating a wider range of people with perspectives, experiences and practices would be an important step for future research. As mentioned in Chapter 3, an initial aim was to be able to compare the emotional practices and accounts from 'opposing' SJEs by including a large-scale, pro-Brexit rally[7]; it is an approach that has been successfully employed in social identity research to examine non-affective group norms of football fans (Stott, Hutchison, & Drury, 2001) which could be a direction for upcoming research of group affect and emotion to determine if these factors would be expected to have an impact on the emotional habitus, the experience and expression of emotion and affect, and the sense of unity within the event. It could also offer an insight into how, or if, the imagined community and imagined audience features in the affective experiences of dominant social collectives (i.e. those who would not consider themselves to be oppressed or a social minority) when they gather in public assembly.

[7] Having attended the pro-Brexit rally (a week after the PPM) it was expected that there would be many similarities between SJEs, in terms of the 'festival atmosphere', togetherness, and frustration at the Brexit process, however, the sense that people made of the emotional habitus since the referendum, the practices of affect and the goals were presumably very different.

Conclusion

There are practical contributions that the findings in this research can have as it provides an understanding of how affect and emotion are practiced in large-scale events, and the influencing factors, which can inform how organisers and policymakers engage with such events; allowing them to plan for eventualities and circumvent less desirable potential outcomes. Policymakers and practitioners often presume, or at the very least focus their efforts on, mass gatherings as potential sites of negative emotion and plan how to control such an eventuality (Hopkins & Reicher, 2020) rather than look to ways of prevention such as encouraging positive collective affects and emotional behaviours (Templeton, 2021). Sadly, the focus on negative outcomes of public gatherings and group affect is reflected in sites of potential conflict featured in much of the existing research (Hopkins et al., 2019) and further reinforces the notion that large gatherings of people present a potential problem that should be resolved.

Findings in this study emphasise how affect and emotion manifest in a positive environment through comparison of, potentially, conflictual and celebratory situations. In doing so the cases provide an insight into the importance of being able to experience positive emotions with others, enact personal and shared identities and how being cognizant of these factors can aid in the planning and management of mass gatherings (Hopkins & Reicher, 2020; Templeton, 2021; Sullivan, 2018). For example, the Letwin vote was a source of intense positivity, however, it could have led to the transformation of collective angst into a more volatile negative affect had it not been a favourable outcome. Being able to observe the affective practices and arrangements in the SJE at these points that were discussed as less positive would have been beneficial. An element that could be better captured is the embodiment of affect, collectively and individually, throughout each SJE by recording video footage

of the various ‘environments’ within them. A more thorough comparison could be made of observed social practices and interactions that could be triangulated with interviewee accounts. The assembly areas at the beginning and end of the march were spaces where organisers could manage affect and could have been utilised to acknowledge the possibility of an unwanted outcome, removing the element of surprise, and emphasised the importance of the positive group values that they wanted to portray and remain prominent (whatever the outcome).

Further, illegitimate behaviours by an out-group have been identified as playing causal roles in the development of negative crowd situations (Drury & Reicher, 1999; 2009; Reicher, Stott, Cronin, & Adang, 2004; Stott, Hodgett, & Pearson, 2012; Stott & Radburn, 2020). While such research concerns itself with behavioural, rather than emotional, responses it is reasonable and appropriate to assume that legitimate behaviours are expected of others, particularly authorities, and illegitimate ones are unexpected. Consequently, the link between the element of surprise and emotional intensity in large-group settings (Chapter 7) can be applied to similar situations particularly where there is not a cohesive, or predominant, group identity. Increasing the likelihood of surprise could be advantageous in some scenarios, where safeguards are already in place, to increase positive affect and feelings of togetherness such as a surprise guest at a music festival. A more significant contribution would be gained by reducing the potential for the unexpected which could play an important role in ensuring that events are safely attended and policed. For example, a vigil held for Sarah Everard, who was murdered by a policeman, transformed from a site of sorrowful remembrance to angry confrontation; blame was attributed to aggressive handling of the event by the police (Bowden, 2021) and the hijacking of the event by “hardcore agitators” from various activist

groups (Ryan, Howes, & Clayton, 2021). Either way, the majority of people were there to mourn and the attempts by the police to disperse the event, having re-categorised it as an illegal gathering halfway through, or activists capitalising on it for their own gain would have been met surprise and resistance. This could explain the intense negative reaction from those gathered and may have been avoided if it had not been so unexpected.

A final, practical contribution of this research is provided by the analysis of the role of affective practices outside the SJEs themselves. In the Pride case study, local micro-mobilisation (Britt & Heise, 2000) and the queering of London in advance of the parade were unique factors that penetrated the negative emotional habitus that LGBTQ+ individuals inhabit on a daily basis, as well as, priming the rest of society for the event. Generally, much of the focus for large-scale SJEs is on groups forming to prepare for the main event. These findings demonstrate that such an in-group focus can be done in conjunction with wider promotional activities that have a broader positive impact and generate excitement around an event (Johnston, 2007; Sullivan, 2018). For events, such as Pride or the Olympics, wider recognition or awareness-raising can also be achieved without great expenditure on behalf of the organisers by engaging with public institutions in the host location and encouraging them to display their support using flags and hosting promotional events. This is less feasible with SJEs, or other events, that are more spontaneous or politically divisive, such as the anti-Brexit marches or Black Lives Matter protests. However, the period leading up to an event could also be used effectively to manage expectations and diffuse tensions or reduce potentially negative collective emotions. The EU referendum is an example where affective practices of reconciliation, before and afterwards, would have been invaluable moderators of shared and intense negative

emotion. With this in mind, the inclusion of systematic media analysis would provide an insight into how the affectivity of events was narrated before and after, as well as, considering social media use as an in-the-moment affective practice.

In the wake of a global pandemic the world has been radically changed in terms of how research is, and will be, conducted particularly with regard to social activism and emotion. While initially there were fears that large public assemblages could be consigned to history this has not prevented activists from adapting. Pride parades were impossible to run in 2020, however, this led to a global event being held virtually (Deibe, 2020). Protests worldwide have moved into cyberspace where digital activists can gather (Calma, 2020; Rosenblatt, 2020) and, physical protests have continued in more socially distanced ways; smaller mobilisations or people demonstrating in safer ways that include the use of face masks and physical distancing (Connellann, 2020; The Economist, 2020). This opens up novel areas of collective emotion research. For those continuing to organise physical protests, it would be useful to look at how emotional intensity and arousal, of group and collective emotions, are affected when safety is prioritised particularly with peaceful protests under threat of becoming unlawful to 'protect' the UK public (Allegretti & Wolfe-Robinson, 2021). For those SJEs that have moved online, there are questions around how comparable collective emotional experiences are, how affect and emotion translate into the virtual and what impact does this have on the offline elements of collective emotion studied in this research.

Commenting on crowd events during the COVID-19 pandemic, Templeton (2021) points to the need to develop crowd research beyond group processes to consider emotional appraisal and physical behaviours in order to ensure events can be held safely while still being enjoyable. This research offers a theoretical

framework that can begin that process by focussing on the interactive features of collective emotion at, and in relation to, SJEs (i.e. emotional habitus, affective practice, togetherness and affective arrangements). As has been demonstrated, emotion manifests in groups and collectives as a consequence of socio-political environments and experiences of social history bringing individuals together; the configuration of physical space and co-presence of like-minded others can facilitate collaborative social practices, the fostering of social ties, feelings of togetherness and the enduring embodiment of collective emotion.

Finally, emotional intensity and arousal should not be presumed as pre-cursors to negative collective action. Positive emotions and affective practices can be encouraged to create safer, more enjoyable and inviting events and public gatherings. Collective emotions fluctuate and are responsive which means that they can be anticipated, planned for and interpreted. Critically, collective emotion is the consequence of interconnected foreground and background emotional dynamics that manifest in affective assemblages and resonant rabbles

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Appendices

Appendix A reflection on class (after an interview)

Participant said that protesting was "just something that we do" which caught me off guard. It wasn't something that I had ever done, in fact, it was the first protest I had ever been to. At the time I realised that the person I was talking to positioned me as being 'similar' to themselves. On many levels we were; white, male, from the North of England. On other levels we weren't; age, sexuality, academic background. The only salient barrier that I could see to my own involvement in protests, versus his participation in them, was to do with class. I thought the similarity he was implying was a shared upper middle-class background and, not having held such status, this led me to feel the need to defend my non-protest history because it was not just something that we, as the working class, did. The reality is that he was likely referring to the fact that when he was a student he had been involved in a lot of protests and it was the shared position of student he was drawing on.

Appendix B Reflecting on being an insider at Pride

When reflecting on my position as a research on Pride, it could be assumed that I am an insider. I am a gay, cisgender man who agrees wholeheartedly with the aims of the parade and the importance of LGBTQ+ equality within society. I have experience of homophobia. I understand the fear involved in having to disclose my sexuality on a daily basis; while 'coming out' is often portrayed as defining event in an LGBTQ+ persons life, that happens once, the reality is that it is a consistent feature of their lives encountered with the majority of new people they meet (Kitzinger, 2005)*. I can identify with the anger at the injustice and violence faced by LGBTQ+ people; something I remember feeling in response to the reports 2016 shooting in Orlando (at the time I was at a music festival and both I and my partner were aghast and couldn't understand why no-one else seemed even slightly bothered) or the recent protests against including LGBTQ+ representation in primary school education. This means that I understand the jubilation felt by many at the legalisation of gay marriage in the UK and many of the positive emotions that participants in this study associated with events such as Pride. The difference is that I would not consider myself an 'active' member of the LGBTQ+ community and have not been for 20 years. After an initial foray into the 'gay scene', frequenting LGBTQ+ venues and events, my personal social life became more closely tied to my love of music and festivals.*

Appendix C Stationary camera position at anti-Brexit marches (PPM/FSM)

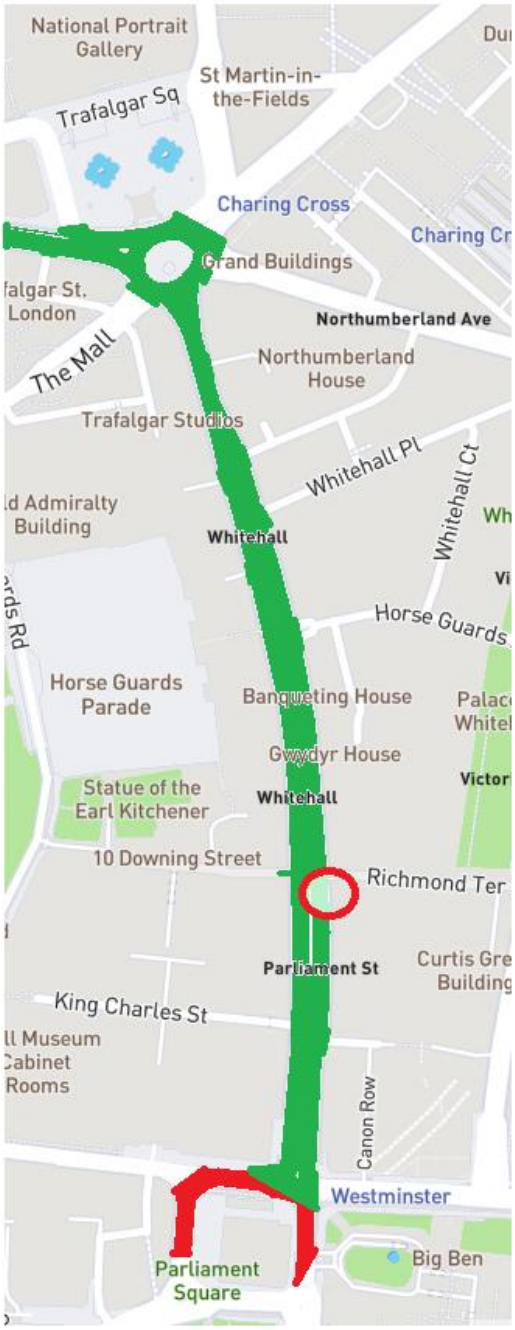


Fig C.2 Map showing Trafalgar Square in relation to Parliament Square (camera position in red), map courtesy of (Civitatis Tours, n.d.)

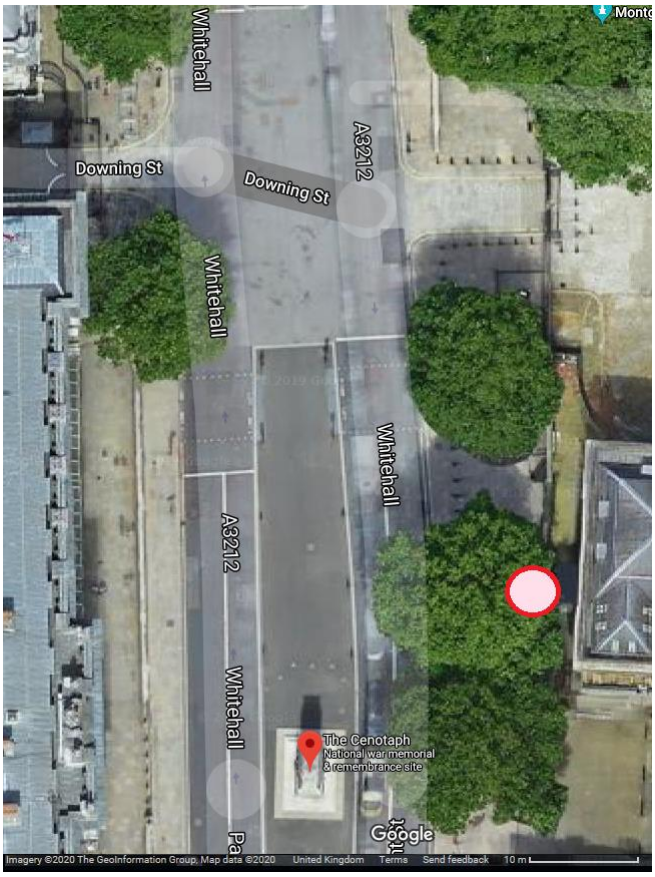


Fig C.3 Overhead satellite view of camera position opposite Downing Street (camera position in red), image courtesy of (Civitatis Tours, n.d.)

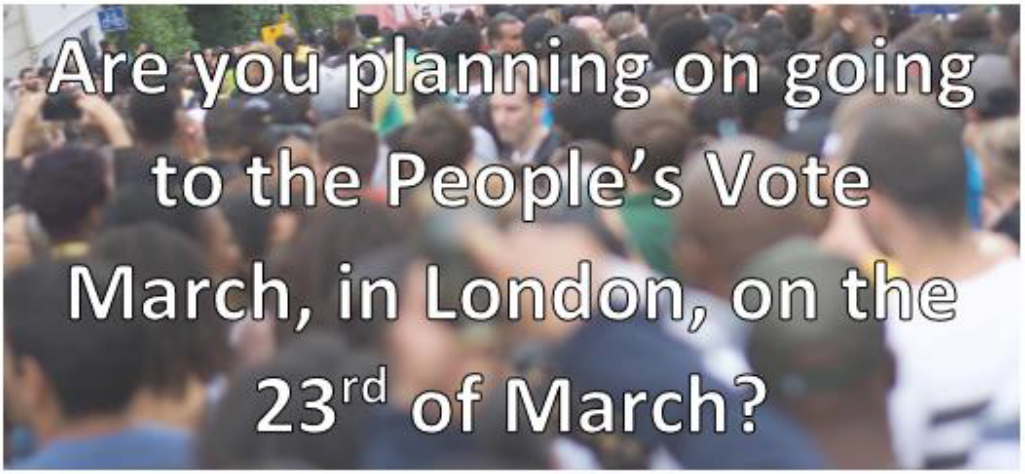
Fig. C.4 and Fig. C.5 Street view of camera position. Camera was elevated above procession by locating it at the top of steps pictured (camera position in red), images courtesy of (Civitatis Tours, n.d.)

Fig C.6. View of Downing Street during the PPM

Appendix D Recruitment Poster/Flyer (Before PPM Demonstration)

Research Centre
Trust, Peace and
Social Relations

Coventry University



If so, would you like to talk about your expectations before, and your experience after, the march?

Whether Leave, Remain or Undecided - I want to hear from you!

Research, approved by Coventry University, is being conducted to explore people's emotional experiences at such an uncertain point in British history.

Please contact Chris Day for more information about research he is conducting into emotions, groups and social justice.

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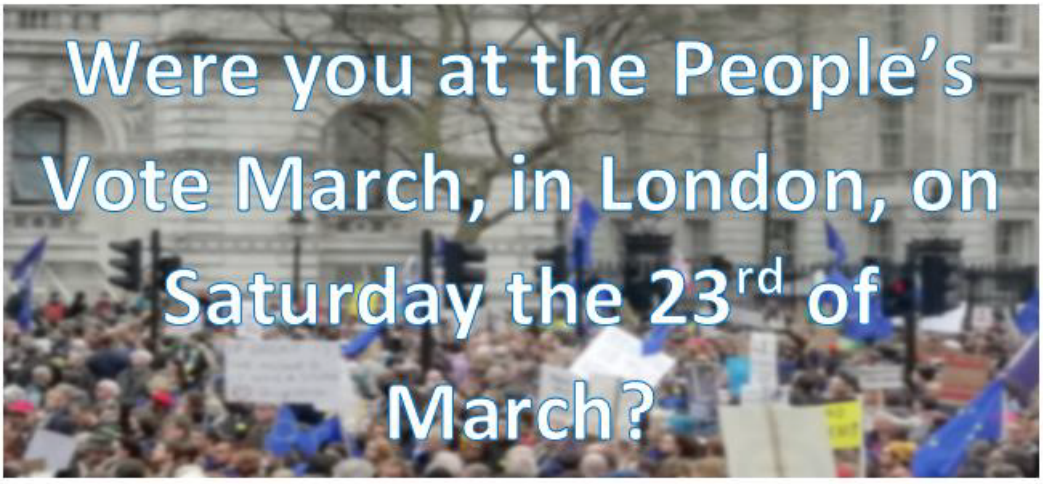
Appendix E Recruitment Poster/Flyer (After PPM Demonstration)

Research Centre
Trust, Peace and
Social Relations

Coventry University



If so, would you like to talk about your experience and expectations of the march?

Whether Leave, Remain or Undecided - I want to hear from you!

Research, approved by Coventry University, is being conducted to explore people's emotional experiences at such an uncertain point in British history.

Please contact Chris Day for more information about research he is conducting into emotions, groups and social justice.

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Appendix F PPM Project Summary

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

A case study of Brexit Demonstrations and their impact

PROJECT SUMMARY

What is the purpose of this research project?

This project examines the emotions of individuals and groups, or crowds, in relation to significant events linked with the pursuit of social justice. The People's Vote March, on the 23rd of March 2019 in London, is one of a number of events being studied as part of this project.

For many attending this march, Brexit and the lack of a people's vote, represents one of the major social injustices in recent years. This research is being conducted to explore people's emotional experiences at such an uncertain point in British history.

What will happen if people decide to take part?

Anyone who agrees to participate will be asked about their experiences, thoughts, and impressions before and after the protest. The informal interview(s), lasting 30 - 45 mins approximately, will be audio recorded, however, responses will be strictly confidential and individuals will not be identifiable in any of the project outputs.

I will also be recording video footage at the People's Vote March, in order to observe how emotion is expressed in a large group, how it changes over time and understand the role of emotion during the demonstration. While I may see you there, the footage will be used only for the purposes of this research project and will not become part of the public domain.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Emotions and personal experience, 'human' aspects of social justice campaigns, are often overlooked in favour of 'facts', figures and soundbites. By talking to people about their personal experiences and looking at how emotions are expressed a better understanding of emotion in groups and collectives can be gained. This research aims to provide a voice to the campaigners and supporters involved in the demonstrations around Brexit, and to provide insights that can help other groups pursuing social justice.

Content removed on data protection grounds

Appendix G Recruitment Poster/Flyer (Before Pride Parade)

Appendix H Recruitment Poster/Flyer (After Pride Parade)

Appendix I Pride Project Summary

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

A case study of Pride Parades and their impact

PROJECT SUMMARY

What is the purpose of this research project?

The overall aims of this project are to examine the emotions of individuals and groups, or crowds, in relation to significant events linked with the pursuit of social justice. The focus is on the organisation of such events, as well as, how people who attend make sense of their feelings, how they express them and the influence of context on their experience.

Pride Parades offer a space where the LGBTQI+ community, and their allies, can openly express themselves in public which makes them emotional and poignant events. As the largest Pride event in the UK, London is ideal to be able to explore the emotional experiences of the diverse community who attend and, importantly, understand the impact such an event has on them and wider society.

What will happen if people decide to take part?

Anyone who agrees to be involved would be asked about their experiences, thoughts, and impressions before and after the protest. The informal interview(s), lasting 30 - 45 mins approximately, would be audio recorded, however, responses would be strictly confidential and individuals would not be identifiable in any of the project outputs.

Another component of the research is to record video footage of Pride Parades, such as the one in London, in order to observe how emotion is expressed in a large group, how it changes over time and understand the role of emotion during the demonstration.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Emotions and personal experience, 'human' aspects of social justice movements, are often overlooked in favour of 'facts', figures and soundbites. By talking to people about their personal experiences and looking at how emotions are expressed a better understanding of emotion in groups and collectives can be gained. This research aims to provide a voice to the campaigners and supporters involved in the Pride Parades which can help other groups pursuing social justice.

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Appendix J Pride Recruitment Email (Groups)

Hi,

I saw your group at Pride in London on Saturday and was wondering if you would be able to help.

I am a PhD student at Coventry University who is investigating the role of emotion in social justice campaigns. I am looking to speak to people who went to, or were involved in organising, Pride in London. This is a part of my research that I am determined to include because, as a gay man, I feel that LGBTQ+ voices and experience are under-represented in academic research.

I am contacting you because I thought that those of you who joined the parade, from the [insert group name], may be interested in talking to me about the parade, their expectations before and their experience afterwards?

I completely appreciate that you cannot pass their details on to me, as it would be a breach of confidentiality, but I was wondering if you would be able to share the details of the project with members of your group, so that they could contact me?

Please be assured that I will not be asking for yourselves to co-ordinate recruitment for my project; simply to help me make people aware of it and they can then contact me themselves.

I have attached some brief information about the research I am doing, however, if you would like to know any more I would be more than happy to talk to you about the project in more detail or you can send me any questions by email.

Your help would be hugely appreciated.

Kind Regards

Chris Day

Appendix K Pride Recruitment Email (Potential Interviewees)

Hi [insert name],

Thank you so much for getting in touch to say you'd be interested in being involved.

I wasn't sure how much information you have seen about the study but I would like to talk to people going to Pride in London about their thoughts and feelings in the lead-up to, and after, the protest.

I have attached an information sheet, consent form and a few demographic questions. It is quite a detailed information sheet but I would prefer you to be fully informed about what you are agreeing to before you agree to it!

Once you have had a read through, if you are happy to, return the completed forms (this can be electronically, they don't have to be printed off) and let me know a day/time that works for you when we could chat. This would most likely be by telephone as I am in Coventry

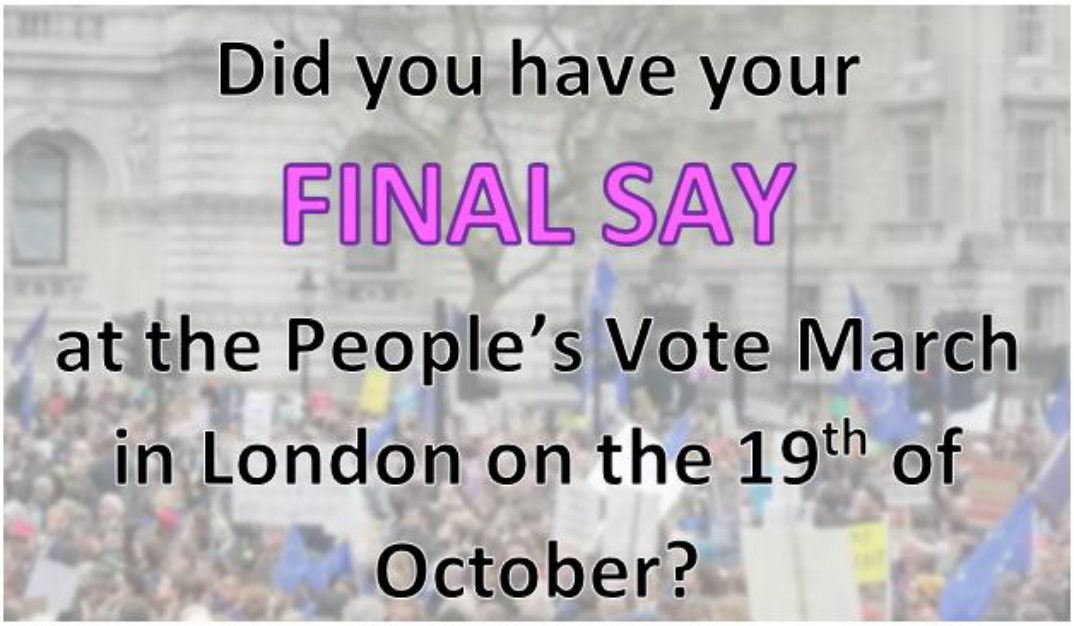
Kind Regards

Chris Day

Appendix L Recruitment Poster/Flyer (After FSM Demonstration)

Research Centre
Trust, Peace and
Social Relations

Coventry University



If so, would you like to talk about your experience and expectations of the march?

Whether Leave, Remain or Undecided - I want to hear from you!

Research, approved by Coventry University, is being conducted to explore people's emotional experiences at such an uncertain point in British history.

Please contact Chris Day for more information about research he is conducting into emotions, groups and social justice.

Content removed on data protection grounds

Appendix M Recruitment Poster/Flyer (After FSM Demonstration)

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

A case study of Brexit Demonstrations and their impact

PROJECT SUMMARY

What is the purpose of this research project?

This project examines the emotions of individuals and groups, or crowds, in relation to significant events linked with the pursuit of social justice. Together for the Final Say March, on the 19th of October 2019 in London, is one of a number of events being studied as part of this project.

For many attending this march, Brexit and the lack of a people's vote, represents one of the major social injustices in recent years. This research is being conducted to explore people's emotional experiences at such an uncertain point in British history.

What will happen if people decide to take part?

Anyone who agrees to participate will be asked about their experiences, thoughts, and impressions before and after the protest. The informal interview(s), lasting 30 - 45 mins approximately, will be audio recorded, however, responses will be strictly confidential and individuals will not be identifiable in any of the project outputs.

I will also be recording video footage at the Together for the Final Say March, in order to observe how emotion is expressed in a large group, how it changes over time and understand the role of emotion during the demonstration. While I may see you there, the footage will be used only for the purposes of this research project and will not become part of the public domain.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Emotions and personal experience, 'human' aspects of social justice campaigns, are often overlooked in favour of 'facts', figures and soundbites. By talking to people about their personal experiences and looking at how emotions are expressed a better understanding of emotion in groups and collectives can be gained. This research aims to provide a voice to the campaigners and supporters involved in the demonstrations around Brexit, and to provide insights that can help other groups pursuing social justice.

Content removed on data protection grounds

Appendix N Reconnecting with previous interviewees (FSM)

Hi [insert name]

Hope you are well.

Thought I would get in contact to ask the dreaded question – are you going on the next march against Brexit in London, the Let Us Be Heard March, on the 19th?

While I was initially only going to focus on how people experienced, and felt about, the protest last March I think it would be remiss to ignore the one coming up.

If you are going, would you mind chatting to me about it afterwards? (The plan would be to talk before Halloween if possible)

As we spoke about last time, it would be a chat to explore how you have felt about the situation since and your feelings before, during and after the march. It is only if you can spare the time and there is absolutely no obligation to say yes.

I look forward to hearing from you

Kind Regards

Chris Day

Appendix O Interview Protocol for PPM Attendees (Pre and Post Event)

BEFORE (Up to One month before)

PART ONE (All)

1. Have you always had an interest in politics?
   - *Strong interest? Passive? Why was that?*
   - *Is your interest solely on the UK or more widespread?*

2. With regard to the 'Brexit' result in 2016, how did you feel once you found out the decision was to leave Europe?
   - *How has that been since then, for the last two years?*
   - *How would you say your feelings on the issues have changed?*
   - *How would you describe your feelings on the subject now?*

3. Can you tell me about how you became involved in the demonstrations around Brexit?
   - *Have you been involved in political protests in the past?*
   - *Would you mind telling me about it?*
   - *Have you been involved in any of the previous protests (such as the People's Vote March in October 2018?)*

PART TWO (if they attended October 2018 march)

i. Can you begin by telling me, in as much detail as you can, about the day?
   - *Firstly, when & why did you decide to go?*
   - *Where did you come from?(if they came some distance)*
   - *Did you attend by yourself or with others?*

ii. What was the effect of the demonstration on you? How did your emotional connection to the march change, if it did, over the day?
   - *Did the way you felt change during the event?*
   - *How did you feel having attended the event?*

iii. Was there anything about the protest that you would say was an emotional high point for you or the other people that you were there for?
   - *How did it make you feel? Why was that?*

iv. How did it feel to be part of a crowd that were all there for the same reason?
   - *Why was it important that so many people attended?*
   - *How do you think others there felt?*
   - *What made you think this?*
   - *Other research often talks about the importance of a shared identity - how do you think this relates to this event?*
   - *Or feelings of solidarity – how do you think this relates to this event?*

v. In your view, what was the impact of the protest?
   - *For people, such as yourself who attended?*
   - *Nationally?Internationally?*
   - *Did the demonstration achieve the aims set out?*
   - *How do you know that these aims were achieved?*

vi. Can you tell me about what the meaning of that protest was for you personally?
   - *Is it just the event that is important?*
   - *Does the importance extend beyond this one event?*

PART THREE (All)

4. How do you feel when you think about the upcoming protest?
   - *Excited? Nervous? Angry?*
   - *What is your motivation to attend this upcoming protest?*

5. What is it about the demonstration that you are looking forward to?
   - *What is important about it for you? How does that make you feel?*
   - *Is there anything about it that you aren't looking forward to?*
   - *How important is it that there will be other people?*

6. What plans have you made for the day?
   - *Are you going with others?*
   - *Do you aim to achieve anything specific?*

7. Can you tell me what the meaning of this protest for you personally?
   - *Is it just the event that is important?*
   - *Does the importance extend beyond this one event?*
   - *Build-up?*
   - *Other research often talks about the importance of a shared identity - how do you think this relates to this event?*
   - *Or feelings of solidarity – how do you think this relates to this event?*

8. Would you say this protest had any specific aims?
   - *How will you, and others, know the protest has been successful?*
   - *Could the same thing be achieved just using online methods?*

9. In your view, what will the impact of the protest be?
   - *For people, such as yourself who are attending?*
   - *Nationally? Internationally?*

10. What are your thoughts or feelings about those that would disagree with your view on Brexit and/or the People's Vote demonstration?

11. Is there anything important about the demonstration that we haven't discussed or covered in the interview or that you would like to add?

AFTER (Up to Four Weeks after)

1. Can you begin by telling me, in as much detail as you can, about the day?
    - *Firstly, when & why did you decide to go?*
    - *Where did you come from?(if they came some distance)*
    - *Did you attend by yourself or with others?*

2. In your view, what was the impact of the protest?
    - *For people, such as yourself who attended?*
    - *Nationally? Internationally?*
    - *Did the demonstration achieve the aims set out?*
    - *How do you know that these aims were achieved?*

3. What was the effect of the demonstration on you?
    - *Did the way you felt change during the event?*
    - *How did you feel having attended the event?*

4. Can you tell me about what the meaning of this protest was for you personally?
    - *Is it just the event that is important?*
    - *Does the importance extend beyond this one event?*

5. How did it feel to be part of a crowd that were all there for the same reason?
    - *Why was it important that so many people attended?*
    - *How do you think others there felt?*
    - *What made you think this?*
    - *Other research often talks about the importance of a shared identity - how do you think this relates to this event?*
    - *Or feelings of solidarity – how do you think this relates to this event?*

6. As I was at the demonstration, I can say that I did feel that there was (wasn't?) a lot of shared emotion. What are your thoughts on this?
    - *How would you describe the emotion on the day?*
    - *Was this something you could see in what people did, how people behaved or in things that were said?*
    - *Was this an important aspect for you?*

7. Was there anything about the protest that you would say was an emotional high point for you or the other people that you were there for?
    - *How did it make you feel? Why was that?*

8. IF AT OCTOBER MARCH, How would you say the October protest and this march compared?
    - *Did you feel different? Why was that?*
    - *Did you have different expectations? Why was that?*

9. Is there anything important about the demonstration that we haven't discussed or covered in the interview or that you would like to add?

Appendix P Interview Protocol for PPM Attendees (Post Event Only)

PART ONE (All)

1. Have you always had an interest in politics?
   - *Strong interest? Passive? Why was that?*
   - *Is your interest solely on the UK or more widespread? Why?*

2. With regard to the 'Brexit' result in 2016, how did you feel once you found out the decision was to leave Europe?
   - *How has that been since then, for the last two years?*
   - *How would you say your feelings on the issues have changed?*
   - *How would you describe your feelings on the subject now?*

3. Can you tell me about how you became involved in the demonstrations around Brexit?
   - *Have you been involved in political protests in the past?*
   - *Would you mind telling me about it?*
   - *Have you been involved in any of the previous protests (such as the People's Vote March in October last year? – will come back to that)*

4. Before we talk about the day itself, do you remember how you felt in the lead-up to the march?
   - *Do you remember there being a build-up to it?*
   - *Did you feel excited? Anxious? Disengaged?*
   - *Anything you were, or weren't, looking forward to?*
   - *What was your motivation to be involved in the most recent demonstration?*

5. Can you begin by telling me, in as much detail as you can, about your day?
   - *Firstly, when & why did you decide to go?*
   - *Where did you come from?(if they came some distance)*
   - *Did you attend by yourself or with others?*

6. What was the effect of the demonstration on you?
   - *Did the way you felt change during the event?*
   - *How do you feel having attended the event?*

7. Was there anything about the protest that you would say was an emotional high point for you or the other people that you were there for?
   - *How did it make you feel?*
   - *Why was that?*

8. How did it feel to be part of a crowd that were all there for the same reason?
   - *Why was it important that so many people attended?*
   - *How do you think others there felt?*
   - *What made you think this?*
   - *Other research often talks about the importance of a shared identity - how do you think this relates to this event?*

- *Or feelings of solidarity – how do you think this relates to this event?*

9. As there was a petition and the march, were they doing the same thing?
    - Would an online 'protest' only achieve the same thing?
    - Why? Why not?
    - What is so important about being with others?

10. As I was at the demonstration, I can say that I did feel that there was (wasn't?) a lot of shared emotion. What are your thoughts on this?
    - *How would you describe the emotion on the day?*
    - *Was this something you could see in what people did, how people behaved or in things that were said?*
    - *Was this an important aspect for you?*

11. Would you say this protest had any specific aims?
    - *Why do you think it had to be a physical event that needed people to attend?*
    - *Could the same thing have been achieved just using online methods?*
    - *How did you know that these have been achieved?*

12. In your view, what was the impact of this People's Vote March?
    - *For people, such as yourself who attended?*
    - *Nationally?*
    - *And internationally?*
    - *Did the demonstration achieve the aims set out?*
    - *How do you know that these were achieved?*

PART TWO (If Attended October Demo)

1. Can you tell me, in as much detail as you can, what you remember about the day?
    - *Firstly, when & why did you decide to go?*
    - *Where did you come from?(if they came some distance)*
    - *Did you attend by yourself or with others?*

2. In your view, what was the impact of the October demonstration?
    - *For people, such as yourself who attended?*
    - *Nationally?*
    - *And internationally?*

3. Do you remember the effect of that demonstration on you?
    - *Did the way you felt change during the event?*
    - *How did you feel having attended the event?*

4. Was there anything about the October protest that you would say was an emotional high point for you or the other people that you were there with?
    - *How did it make you feel?*
    - *Why was that?*

5. How would you say the October protest and this march compared?
    - *Did you feel different? Why was that?*
    - *Did you have different expectations? Why was that?*

PART THREE (All)

13. What are your thoughts or feelings about those that would disagree with your view on Brexit and/or the People's Vote demonstration?

14. Is there anything important about the demonstration that we haven't discussed or covered in the interview or that you would like to add?

Additional Qus

15. How diverse was the march?

16. Do you think there will be similar marches in the future? Would you go?

Appendix Q Interview Protocol for PRIDE Attendees

1. Have you always attended Gay Pride?
    - *Just in the UK? Just observing? Being in the parade?*
    - *Is your interest solely in Gay Pride or are you active in other activities related to the 'gay community'? Why would you say that is?*

2. With regard to the 'Pride Parades', do you think of them as 'just for fun' or something more?
    - *Is it political?*
    - *How would you say your feelings on the issues have changed over that time?*
    - *How would you describe your feelings on the subject now?*

3. Is it important to have annual Pride Events?
    - Why is that?
    - Are there negatives about such events?
    - Could it be done differently?

4. Can you tell me about how you became involved in Pride Parades?
    - *Would you mind telling me about it?*
    - *Have you been involved in previous parades?*
    - *Have you been involved in similar activities outside the 'gay community? Such as political protests or demos?*

5. Before we talk about the day itself, do you remember how you felt in the lead-up to the Parade?
    - *Do you remember there being a build-up to it?*
    - *Did you feel excited? Anxious? Disengaged?*
    - *Anything you were, or weren't, looking forward to?*
    - *What was your motivation to be involved in the most recent Parade?*

6. Can you begin by telling me, in as much detail as you can, about your day?
    - *Firstly, when & why did you decide to go?*
    - *Where did you come from?(if they came some distance)*
    - *Did you attend by yourself or with others?*
    - *Were you part of the Parade or watching it?*

7. What was the effect of the demonstration on you?
    - *Did the way you felt change during the event?*
    - *How did you feel having attended the event?*

8. Was there anything about the Parade that you would say was an emotional high or low point for you or others?
    - *How did it make you feel?*
    - *Why was that?*

9. How did it feel to be part of a crowd that were all there for the same reason?
    - *Why was it important that so many people attended?*

- *How do you think others there felt?*
- *What made you think this?*
- *Other research often talks about the importance of a shared identity - how do you think this relates to this event?*
- *Or feelings of solidarity – how do you think this relates to this event?*

10. As I was at the demonstration, I can say that I did feel that there was (wasn't?) a lot of shared emotion. What are your thoughts on this?
    - *How would you describe the emotion on the day?*
    - *Was this something you could see in what people did, how people behaved or in things that were said?*
    - *Was this an important aspect for you?*

11. Can you tell me about what the meaning of this protest was for you personally?
    - *Is it just the event that is important?*
    - *Does the importance extend beyond this one event?*

12. In your view, what was the impact of the protest?
    - *For people, such as yourself who attended?*
    - *Nationally?*
    - *And internationally?*
    - *Did the Parade achieve the aims set out?*
    - *How do you know that these aims were achieved?*

13. How inclusive or diverse would you say the Pride Parade was?
    - Is this what you expected?
    - If you have been on other Pride marches, is this different? Why?

14. If you were at other Pride Parades, how would you say your experience at this one compared?
    - What was different? Did it feel different?
    - What was the same? Did it feel the same?
    - Why was that?

15. What are your thoughts or feelings about those that would disagree with your view on Pride Parades and what they represent?

16. Is there anything important about the Pride Parade that we haven't discussed or covered in the interview or that you would like to add?

Appendix R Interview Protocol for PRIDE Attendees (Email Version)

PRIDE IN LONDON EMAIL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (probes are in *green italics*)

1. **Tell me a bit about your history with Pride Parades.** *(When did you start going and why? Have you always just watched or been part of the parade?)*

2. **Do you think 'Pride Parades', are 'just for fun' or something more?** (*Is it political? How would you say your feelings on the issues have changed over that time? How would you describe your feelings on the subject now?)*

3. **Do you think it is important to have annual Pride events? Why?**

4. **Before you tell me about the day itself, do you remember how you felt in the lead-up to the Parade?** (*Excited? Anxious? Why did you want to be part of Pride in London this year?)*

5. **Can you tell me, in as much detail as you can, about your day?** (*Did you attend by yourself or with others? Were you part of the Parade or watching it? What were the best, or worst, bits and why? How did you feel and why?)*

6. **How did it feel to be part of a crowd that were all there for the same reason?** (*Why was it important to be there with so many other people? Did it feel like there was a shared identity? Or solidarity?)*

7. **As I was at the Pride Parade, I can say that I did feel that there was a lot of shared emotion. What are your thoughts on this?** (*How would you describe the emotion on the day? The atmosphere? How did others show this?)*

8. **In your view, what was the impact of the parade?** (*For people, such as yourself who attended? Nationally? Internationally?)*

9. **If you have been to other Pride Parades, how would you say your experience at this one compared? Why was that?**

10. **Some would say that Pride Parades are not needed anymore. What are your thoughts or feelings about this?**

11. **Is there anything important about the Pride Parade that these questions have not covered that you would like to add?**

Appendix S Interview Protocol for FSM Attendees

NEW Interviewees (START HERE)

1. Have you always had an interest in politics?
   - *Strong interest? Passive? Why was that?*
   - *Is your interest solely on the UK or more widespread? Why?*

2. With regard to the 'Brexit' result in 2016, how did you feel once you found out the decision was to leave Europe?
   - *How has that been since then, for the last two years?*
   - *How would you say your feelings on the issues have changed over that time?*
   - *How would you describe your feelings on the subject now?*

3. Can you tell me about how you became involved in the demonstrations around Brexit?
   - *Have you been involved in political protests in the past?*
   - *Would you mind telling me about it?*
   - *Have you been involved in any of the previous protests (such as the People's Vote March in October last year? – will come back to that)*

PREVIOUS Interviewees (START HERE)

4. Can you tell me how you have been feeling about the Brexit situation since we last spoke in March? OR How have you felt since the extension of the Brexit deadline in March?
   - *How has it been since then, for the last few months?*
   - *How would you say your feelings on the issues have changed over that time?*
   - *How would you describe your feelings on the subject now?*

5. Before we talk about the day itself, do you remember how you felt in the lead-up to the march?
   - *Do you remember there being a build-up to it?*
   - *Did you feel excited? Anxious? Disengaged?*
   - *Anything you were, or weren't, looking forward to?*
   - *What was your motivation to be involved?*

6. Can you begin by telling me, in as much detail as you can, about your day?
   - *Firstly, when & why did you decide to go?*
   - *Where did you come from?(if they came some distance)*
   - *Did you attend by yourself or with others?*

7. What was the effect of the demonstration on you?
   - *Did the way you felt change during the event?*
   - *How do you feel having attended the event?*

8. Was there anything about the protest that you would say was an emotional high point for you or the other people that you were there for?
    - *How did it make you feel? Why was that?*

9. How did it feel to be part of a crowd that were all there for the same reason?
    - *Why was it important that so many people attended?*
    - *How do you think others there felt? What made you think this?*
    - *Other research often talks about the importance of a shared identity - how do you think this relates to this event?*
    - *Or feelings of solidarity – how do you think this relates to this event?*

10. As there was a petition and the march, were they doing the same thing?
    - Would an online 'protest' only achieve the same thing?
    - Why? Why not?
    - What is so important about being with others?

11. As I was at the demonstration, I can say that I did feel that there was (wasn't?) a lot of shared emotion. What are your thoughts on this?
    - *How would you describe the emotion on the day?*
    - *Was this something you could see in what people did, how people behaved or in things that were said?*
    - *Was this an important aspect for you?*

12. Would you say this protest had any specific aims?
    - *Why do you think it had to be a physical event?*
    - *Could the same thing have been achieved just using online methods?*
    - *How did you know that these have been achieved?*

13. In your view, what was the impact of this People's Vote March?
    - *For people, such as yourself who attended?*
    - *Nationally?*
    - *And internationally?*
    - *Did the demonstration achieve the aims set out?*
    - *How do you know that these were achieved?*

14. How inclusive or diverse would you say the Pride Parade was?
    - *Is this what you expected?*
    - *Was it different to other anti-Brexit marches in this regard?*

15. If you were at other anti-Brexit marches, how would you say your experience at this one compared?
    - *What was different? Did it feel different? Why was that?*
    - *What was the same? Did it feel the same? Why was that?*

16. What are your thoughts or feelings about those that would disagree with your view on Brexit and/or the People's Vote demonstration?

17. Is there anything important about the demonstration that we haven't discussed or covered in the interview or that you would like to add?

Appendix T Consent form for anti-Brexit marches

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

Participant No.	Project Code: P82406

INFORMED CONSENT FORM:

A case study of Brexit Demonstrations and their impact

You are invited to take part in this research study for the purpose of understanding the emotional experience of and impact of the demonstrations surrounding Brexit in the UK.

Before you decide to take part, you must read the accompanying Participant Information Sheet.

Please do not hesitate to ask questions if anything is unclear or if you would like more information about any aspect of this research. It is important that you feel able to take the necessary time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

If you are happy to participate, please confirm your consent by circling YES against each of the below statements and then signing and dating the form as participant.

1	I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	YES	NO
2	I understand my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my data, without giving a reason, by contacting the lead researcher at any time until the date specified in the Participant Information Sheet	YES	NO
3	I have noted down my participant number (top left of this Consent Form) which may be required by the lead researcher if I wish to withdraw from the study	YES	NO
4	I understand that all the information I provide will be held securely and treated confidentially	YES	NO
5	I agree to the information I provide to be used (anonymously) in academic papers and other formal research outputs	YES	NO
6	I agree to the interview being audio recorded	YES	NO
7	I consent to my image, if it has been captured, to be used from any video footage, or photographs, taken as part of the research	YES	NO
8	I agree to take part in the above study	YES	NO

Thank you for your participation in this study. Your help is very much appreciated.

Participant's Name	Date	Signature
Researcher	**Date**	**Signature**

Appendix U Consent form for Pride in London

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

Participant No: PLA00		Project Code: P82406

INFORMED CONSENT FORM:

A case study of Pride Parades and their impact

You are invited to take part in this research study for the purpose of understanding the emotional experience of and impact of Pride Parades in the UK.

Before you decide to take part, you must **read the accompanying Participant Information Sheet.**

Please do not hesitate to ask questions if anything is unclear or if you would like more information about any aspect of this research. It is important that you feel able to take the necessary time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

If you are happy to participate, please confirm your consent by circling YES against each of the below statements and then signing and dating the form as participant.

1	I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	YES	NO
2	I understand my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my data, without giving a reason, by contacting the lead researcher at any time until the date specified in the Participant Information Sheet	YES	NO
3	I have noted down my participant number (top left of this Consent Form) which may be required by the lead researcher if I wish to withdraw from the study	YES	NO
4	I understand that all the information I provide will be held securely and treated confidentially	YES	NO
5	I agree to the information I provide to be used (anonymously) in academic papers and other formal research outputs	YES	NO
6	I agree to the interview being audio recorded	YES	NO
7	I consent to my image, if it has been captured, to be used from any video footage, or photographs, taken as part of the research	YES	NO
8	I agree to take part in the above study	YES	NO

Thank you for your participation in this study. Your help is very much appreciated.

Participant's Name	Date	Signature
Researcher	**Date**	**Signature**

Appendix V Demographic Questions (PPM)

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Location _____

Gender

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other (please specify)
  _____
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Age ____ years old

Have you attended other demonstrations held as a result of the 'Brexit' referendum in 2016?

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ More than half
- ☐ Less than half
- ☐ This is my first
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Would you say you have always been politically active?

- ☐ For most of my life
- ☐ Within the past 10 years
- ☐ Within the past 5 years
- ☐ Since the EU Referendum
- ☐ I am not politically active
- ☐ Prefer not to say

How did you vote in the EU Referendum?

- ☐ Remain
- ☐ Leave
- ☐ Did not vote
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Appendix W Demographic Questions (Pride)

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

Participant No.
PLA00

DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONS

A case study of Pride Parades and their impact

Project Code:
P82406

Country of Birth _____

Town/Country of Current Residence _____

Gender _____ (please specify)
☐ Prefer not to say

Sexuality _____ (please specify)
☐ Prefer not to say

Ethnicity _____ (please specify)
☐ Prefer not to say

Age Range ☐ Under 25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45
☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ 66+

Have you attended other Pride Parades?

☐ Multiple times a year ☐ Annually ☐ Yes, but not regularly
☐ No, this is my first ☐ Prefer not to say

If you have attended Pride Parades other than this one, where were they?

Would you say that you are politically active on LGBTQ+ issues?

☐ For most of my life ☐ Within the past 10 yrs ☐ Within the past 5 yrs
☐ Not politically active ☐ Prefer not to say

Do you believe that Pride Parades are a political statement?

☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ Unsure ☐ Prefer not to say

Appendix X Demographic Questions (FSM)

CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Coventry University

Participant No. FSM	DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONS A case study of Pride Parades and their impact	Project Code: P82406

Country of Birth _____

Town/Country of Current Residence _____

Gender _____ (please specify)
☐ Prefer not to say

Sexuality _____ (please specify)
☐ Prefer not to say

Ethnicity _____ (please specify)
☐ Prefer not to say

Age Range ☐ Under 25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45
☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ 66+

Have you attended other demonstrations held as a result of the 'Brexit' referendum in 2016?

☐ All of them ☐ More than half ☐ Less than half
☐ No, this is my first ☐ Prefer not to say

Would you say you have always been politically active?

☐ Most of my life ☐ Within past 10 years ☐ Within past 5 years
☐ Since the EU Ref ☐ I'm not politically active ☐ Prefer not to say

How did you vote in the EU Referendum?

☐ Remain ☐ Leave ☐ Did not vote
☐ Ineligible to vote ☐ Prefer not to say

Appendix Y Excerpt from notes made for lost audio recording

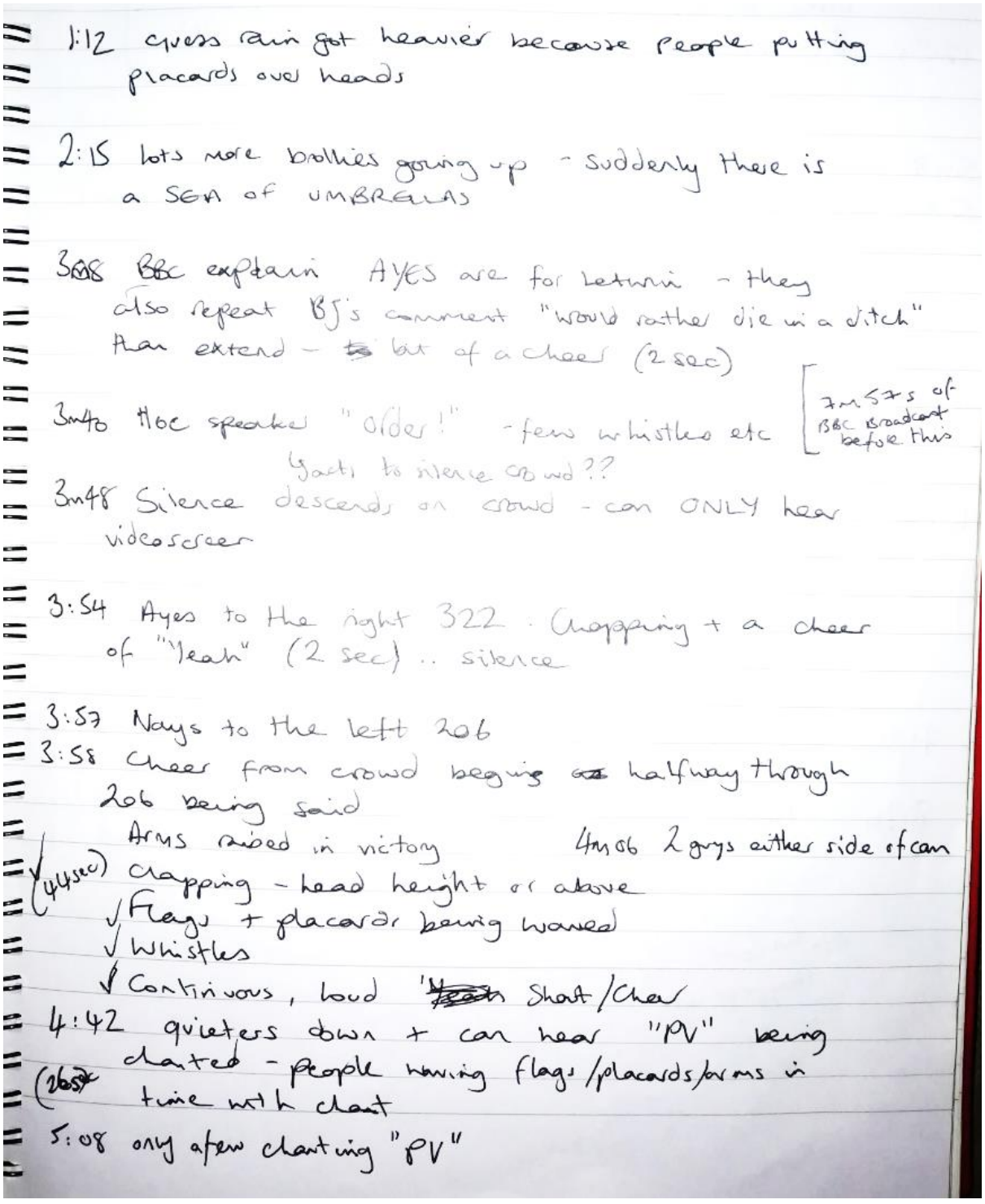
(Sandra)

Question: History with Pride? Political?

Came out at 14 in US (1998), when she could drive started going to Pride because there were no other LGBT+ people. It was a place to connect with others that were LGBT. A community that was not obvious. Being out in Texas was a constant 'political statement' so this became a place to not have to do this. Moved to the UK when 30 and started going to Pride in London (early 2000's) but soon felt that this was dominated by, and created for gay white males. It was only a few years ago when joining the WEP that she felt a drive to start attending again. Getting the third of the WEP, that is LGBT, out there and make a statement. Pride was a 'platform' to be political despite the commercialisation – in the past few years there is more representation beyond the cis-gay-white-male. This takeover by companies does mean that much of the more political aspects, with placards and a message, are at the back of the parade (unlike Brighton where this is throughout the parade itself).

Does think Pride is a political statement although more so this year (possibly because of the nationalist sentiment that is the current global environment) and decision was taken to include placards in their group with messages about equality, women's rights etc – unlike previous years where t-shirts and banners are more homogenised

Appendix Z Example of time-sequence transcript



1:12 guess rain got heavier because people putting placards over heads

2:15 lots more brollies going up - suddenly there is a SEA of UMBRELLAS

3:08 BBC explain AYES are for Leitrim - they also repeat BJ's comment "would rather die in a ditch" than extend - but of a cheer (2 sec)

3m40 Hoc speaker "order!" - few whistles etc (fact: to silence crowd??)

[7m 57s of BBC broadcast before this

3m48 Silence descends on crowd - can ONLY hear videoscreen

3:54 Ayes to the right 322 . clapping + a cheer of "Yeah" (2 sec) .. silence

3:57 Nays to the left 206

3:58 cheer from crowd begins halfway through 206 being said

Arms raised in victory 4m06 2 guys either side of cam

✓ (44sec) clapping - head height or above

✓ Flags + placards being waved

✓ Whistles

✓ Continuous, loud 'Shout/Cheer

4:42 quieters down + can hear "PV" being chanted - people waving flags/placards/arms in time with chant (26sec)

5:08 only a few chanting "PV"

Appendix ZA Stationary camera position at Pride in London

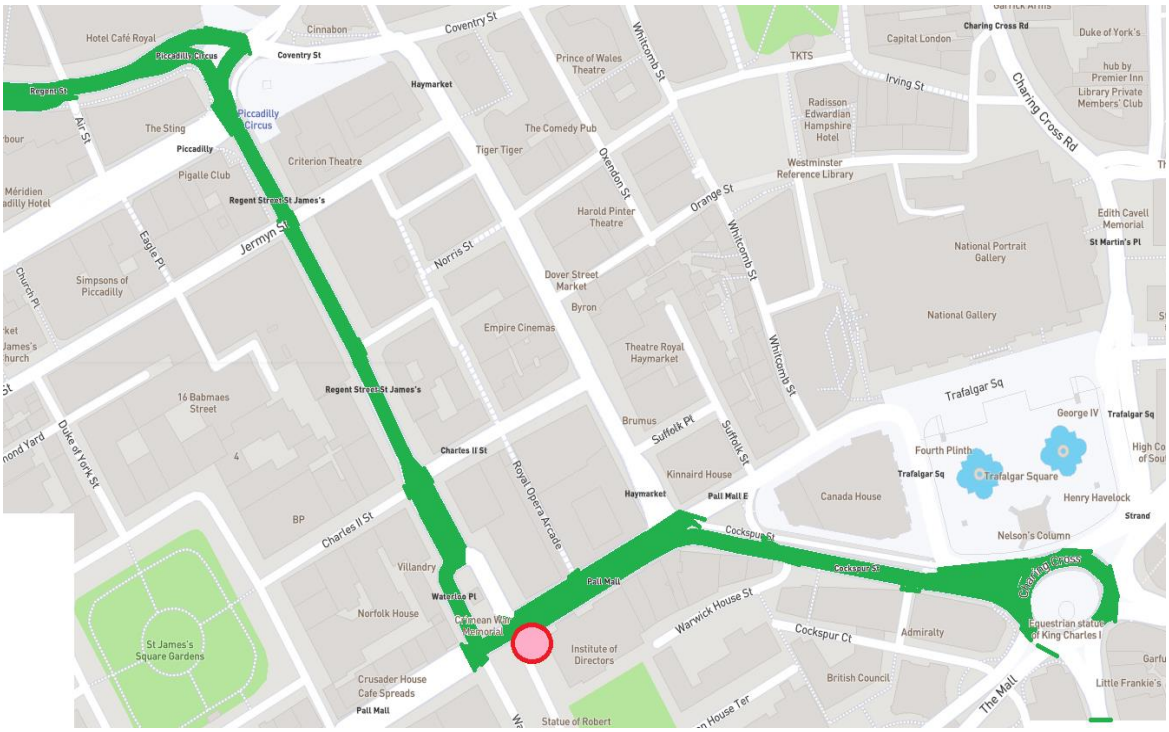


Fig 8. Map showing camera position in relation to Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus (parade route in green, camera position in red), map courtesy of (Civitatis Tours, n.d.)

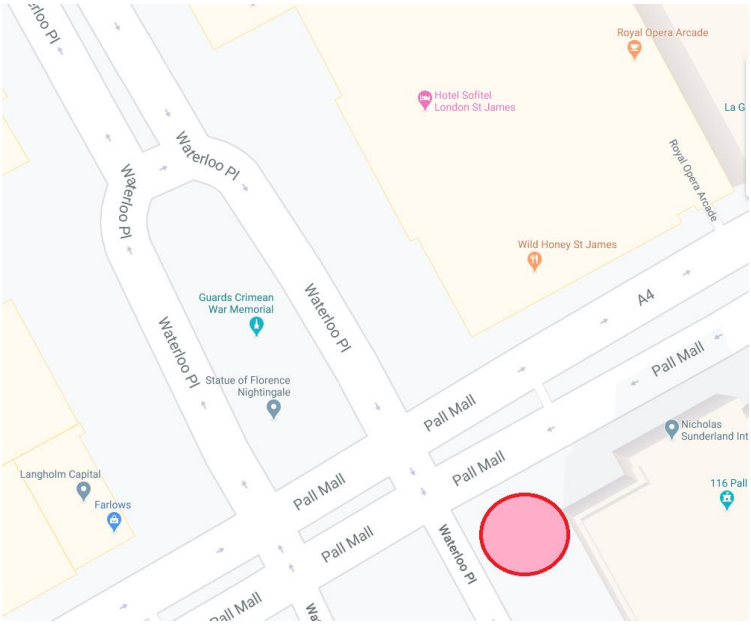


Fig 9. Overhead satellite view of camera position on Pall Mall (camera position in red), image courtesy of (Civitatis Tours, n.d.)

Street view of camera position and photograph of researcher and camera in position.

Camera View of Parade Route before it began

Appendix ZB Ethics Application (Complete)

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval

Content removed on data protection grounds

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval Checklist

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Appendices

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